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Madrid Talks

Delegates Address Conference as Talks Continue

Egyptian Foreign Minister

NC3010163091 Cairo Egyptian Space Channel in Arabic 1403 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Speech by Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa to Middle East peace conference in Madrid—live]

[Text] Allow me to convey from Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the deep appreciation and sincere wish that this conference will launch a genuine peace process that will open a new era to all Middle East peoples, in which injustice will be replaced by justice, repression by freedom, occupation by liberation, enmity by coexistence, suspicion by trust, conflict by cooperation, and war by peace.

We are full of emotion as we meet today in this noble country, Spain, whose history witnessed centuries of glorious Arab civilization achieving positive Latin-Arab cultural links, the foundation of a rich cultural framework and proof that for interacting civilizations, not separate ones—and intermingling cultures, not isolated ones—coexistence can be emphasized and cooperation enhanced, and peace thereby prevail. The Egyptians and Arabs are mentors of history and contributors to world civilization. Since our contribution to history is documented and spectacular, we are determined to contribute toward charting frameworks of the new world of cooperation and interaction as long as justice and legitimacy, equality, and balance in rights and obligations are its essence.

The great efforts behind this historic meeting and the launching of the Middle East peace process, and its unanimous acceptance by all the parties represent proof, which we hope will be confirmed in the negotiations, of the parties' will and determination to achieve a just, comprehensive, and sound settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict and its crux: the Palestinian issue.

At this point in world history, when all Middle East peoples view this great event with hope and aspirations, we feel, along with millions of Arabs and Palestinians, Jews, and Israelis, and with all those aspiring for freedom and peace, deep gratitude for the courageous, persistent, and tireless efforts exerted by the U.S. Administration since March, when President Bush launched his peace initiative.

Also, the positive and continued support given by the Soviet Union has contributed to the success of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's historic mission. I commend Secretary Baker's creative diplomatic capabilities, which I have seen firsthand as the peace process got off the ground.

Through its representatives, the Palestinian people managed to make the difficult decision, the same decision made by Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel—a highly significant, historic, and courageous decision—accepting the challenge of peace. We believe that this decision is an acceptance of the peace option.

The historic changes in international relations, which have knocked down the walls of isolation, ending the ideologies of confrontation, laid the foundations for just settlements and peace in the areas of tension and conflict. The course of history is offering peoples and countries, who, because of circumstances, did not make use of past peace opportunities, a new and perhaps last chance to exercize their will positively, restore their rights, choose their future, and open horizons of cooperation and mutual recognition of rights and obligations. The purpose is to establish a just peace that could settle the claims and counterclaims with a spirit of reconciliation, accord, and accommodation through dialogue and negotiations.

The Middle East, the cradle of the most ancient civilizations and the birthplace of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, has been plagued by war, violence, and retaliation. Fate has been at work in the Middle East more than any other place in the world, bringing unprecedented tragedies replete with tears, blood, and human suffering. The ghosts of despair, frustration, chaos, and death have been wreaking havoc throughout this blessed region. This will not be the Middle East's eternal destiny. We believe in our collective ability to redirect the course of history and rechart a new chapter free of the bitter legacy of hatred, revenge, fear, and suspicion; a chapter marked by tolerance, trust, and common human effort for future generations of Arabs and Israelis and the world at large.

Gentlemen, peace was the message that emanated from the East, from Egypt's Sinai, from Nazareth and Jerusalem, and from Mecca and Medina, these immortal beacons for all mankind. The world has embraced the message of peace. Will the grandsons of Abraham devote themselves once again to these messages inviting them to peace and fraternity?

The decision is in our hands and we will be brought to account before history for our resolution if we fail, but we have no alternative to success. With good intentions, strong resolve, and positive political will, we will be able to make the year 1991 the beginning of the end of long-standing plights and pains. The moment is one of a historic resolution, a moment of courage and patience, a moment of wisdom and self-confidence, and a moment of vision and insight.

Balances of power throughout ancient, medieval, and modern history have never been immortal and constant. Rather, they change and even collapse in different places and times, and history is the biggest witness to this. Power has never been decisive nor will it decide a conflict such as the Middle East conflict in which considerations and claims are interwoven and based on a legacy of religion, history, culture, and geography that are not confined to only one party of the conflict. This is the latent significance of the Arab-Israeli conflict which challenged an enforced settlement, because it is a conflict about rights, claims, and counterclaims that deserve reconciliation, not denial or neglect.

For all this, Egypt, being a partner and full party in the peace-seeking process and having a unique role on the level of the entire region, will remove every obstacle, tread every path, explore every horizon to carry out its responsibilities toward its brother Arabs and Palestinians and toward the whole region so a genuine peace can be established, a peace under honor and dignity for all. The ties of history and civilization and legal obligations linking Egypt to its Arab brothers, and the relations of peace linking Egypt to Israel, allow Egypt to extend strong assistance to the legitimate demands to apply Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and to contribute to drawing up a framework for peace, security, and cooperation among all countries in the Middle East, the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Egypt is deeply contented and satisfied because the U.S.-Soviet conference chairmanship, rather, their participation, places the peace process on a more secure, firmly established staging base. Participation by the EC states constitutes a valuable guarantee, and, on behalf of Egypt, I would like to greet the positive EC stands on the legitimate rights of the sides involved.

The UN presence symbolizes international legitimacy, and its Resolutions 242 and 338 are the basis for the negotiations process. The principles of the UN Charter represent the framework in which any just and acceptable settlement should take place.

This broad international participation consolidates the unshakeable international support for the peace process and constitutes the momentum toward achieving its objectives.

The peace prize will not be monopolized by any side or by the parties directly concerned with the peace process. The entire region, the Mediterrenean and Europe—rather, the world at large—will share the fruits of peace, including security, stability, and prosperity. All countries have direct and definite interest in achieving a just and comprehensive settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict that would realize the legitimate and firm rights of all people, including the Palestinian people, particularly their right to self-determination. This kind of settlement would also establish a peace that will guarantee the security of all countries, including the State of Israel, by mutually recognizing rights according to equality and justice.

Egypt called for peace in one of its greatest hours, in 1973. In 1977, Egypt pioneered the peace process, and in 1979 it endorsed peace with Israel. Egypt, through diligent, bold efforts for the sake of peace, stood firm in its commitment to international legitimacy and to the UN Charter and resolutions. Today, Egypt is more committed to the same principles, which are not subject to change or bargaining.

The peace which we strive to establish, consolidate, and guarantee must accord with the land-for-peace formula in Security Council Resolution 242, which has unambiguously confirmed the UN Charter's firmly established principle stipulating that seizing land by force is inadmissable, and which guarantees all states' right to live in peace and security.

This peace has its own components, pillars, and elements. It means right for right, commitment for commitment, and security for security. This alone, we are confident, would achieve the dictum: Peace for peace.

It is inconceivable that principles the world has endorsed and approved can be subject to negotiation, interpretation, or one-upmanship. Withdrawal from the territories that have been occupied since 1967—the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, Gaza, and the Syrian Golan Heights in implementation of Security Council Resolution 242; and from southern Lebanon in implementation of Security Council Resolution 425—is the right approach to establish a genuine peace based on justice and dignity. Recognition of the Palestinian people's right is the primary guarantee to peaceful coexistence between Israel and Palestinians and all Arabs everywhere.

The Arabs have not come to concede rights that enjoy recognition and support under international law, the principles of justice, and the UN Charter and resolutions. Nor have they come to relinquish obligations they must implement in accordance with the same laws and principles. They have come in good faith and mutual confidence to search for common ground and acceptable formulas that respond to concerns, reconcile the various demands, and achieve agreement on arrangements and methods that will secure justly and equitably the legitimate needs of all parties without infringing on the rights of any party. We call on Israel to take the same approach.

The launching of the historic peace process must not stumble through hurdles that may obstruct its progress toward a comprehensive and permanent settlement. A number of basic requirements must be secured and respected:

1. The Palestinian people's legal status cannot be contested. The Palestinian people are not merely inhabitants or residents in conquered land [aradi maftuhah], but they have their own distinguished national character with the same characteristics as all other peoples.

2. The West Bank, Gaza, and the Syrian Golan Heights are occupied territory subject to full implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 and the Geneva agreements. These are not conquered land or promised land. The territories have their legal owners. Claims that are not based on principles of legitimacy and international law have no place in today's world.

3. The settlements being established in the occupied territories since 1967 are illegal, and further settlements will prevent any possible progress toward genuine peace and will cast doubt on the credibility of the process itself.

They must be stopped so that they will not obstruct the peace process or destroy the foundations of the negotiations.

4. Jerusalem has its own situation. It must remain free, open, and holy to all Muslims, Christians, Jews, and other peoples. The force of occupation must not exercise any illegal exploitation of or sovereignty over the holy city. The unilateral decisions made by the occupation authority to annex the city are decisions we consider without any credibility; the situation of the city must thus be subject to negotiations and be decided through agreement within the framework of legitimacy formulated by the resolutions on which the international community concurred.

The Arab-Israeli conflict is essentially based on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, with any movement or progress in it depending on a settlement of the Palestinian problem—land and rights. But it also requires Israel's ending its 1967 occupation of Syrian territory and withdrawing to Syria's international border.

Our march toward this must be reasoned and wise, aiming for justice and fairness. It must accommodate equal rights and obligations and be based on international legality and a correct, conscientious understanding of history.

The peace conference marks a new watershed in Middle East history, gathering yesterday's enemies and foes at one meeting, seeking to cement the wide cracks between them. It embodies the people's aspiration and desire for peace, and we are hopeful that the conference, and the peace process it will create, will settle the historic Arab-Israeli struggle.

We must not disappoint our people, the world, or surrender to moments of despair. We have not come here to return empty-handed but to gain the greatest prize, peace, which cannot be relinquished or underestimated. Millions of fathers and mothers—Arabs and Israelis—whose hearts feel pain for lost sons, absent husbands, and beloved dead ones are watching with eyes exhausted by concern and tired by waiting, and sharing glimpses of hope. They are legions of peace, not war, raising the olive branch and appealing to all of us for peace and brotherhood so that we will find the door to mankind's new history.

The difficulties are immense but the expectations are great. New horizons of cooperation will open and new channels of communication will be established. The time has come to eliminate the sources of tension and the weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons, so that resources squandered on arms will be dedicated to common development and prosperity. The moment of truth, commitment, and hope has come. We have chosen real peace as a goal and purpose. The road is strewn with thorns, the march is hard and tiring, and the challenges are great, but the goal is great and noble, worthy of the pilgrimage for peace. Thank you.

EC Representative

LD3010164391 Madrid TVE Internacional Television in Spanish 1317 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Speech by EC representative Hans van den Broek at the Middle East peace conference in Madrid's Royal Palace on 30 October—live, in English with simultaneous Spanish translation]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] For the first time, all the parties in question in the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian question are sitting around a conference table, confirming their commitment to a lasting solution. Just a year ago all of us would have ruled out a meeting like this, organized in such a short time. But these are exceptional, challenging, and promising times. By their unprecedented commitment to peace, the sides have arrived at their appointment with history. [passage omitted]

The Twelve pay tribute to the wisdom and courage of the sides directly involved—Israel, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Palestinians. To be here today each of them has had, in their own way, to overcome difficulties. They have overcome their innate reflexes and above all they have left doubts on the sidelines. [passage omitted]

The Twelve welcome and give special importance to Egypt's participation. The peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was the first important step. It showed that dedication and courage, on both sides, could bring with it material results. These same qualities are also present here today; we can and should build on them. [passage omitted]

The Twelve consider that it is of the greatest importance that the sides have committed themselves to accepting the timetable outlined for this conference—direct negotiations on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 in two ways, between Israel and the Palestinians on one side and between Israel and her Arab neighbors on the other. Political negotiations should be consolidated by multilateral talks on the basis of regional cooperation in different spheres of mutual interest.

We hope and intend to work closely with all sides to guarantee progress, according to these criteria. Taking into account geographical proximity, a greatly shared historic patrimony, and the intense political, cultural, economic, and humanitarian relations with the people of the Middle East, the Community and its member states cannot but have a great interest in the region's future, with which it shares so many things. Furthermore, we want to share in this building of peace. The Twelve's guiding principles throughout all negotiations are those which, for so long, have guided our position. They continue to be the same. These principles are: UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338; the principle of land for peace; the right of all states of the region, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized borders; and the correct expression of the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people. Our positions on matters related to the occupied territories, including East Jerusalem, are also well known.

In our view, a global solution should include these very principles but we do not pretend to give a recipe as to how they should be applied. What is esential now, at the beginning of this conference, is that the way should be open for substantial progress. That is why it is essential for measures to be approved to build confidence. They will contribute to the creation of a stable environment, which is what progress in these negotiations requires. A halt to Israel's settlement activity in the occupied territories is an essential contribution of this type. A rejection of the Arab trade boycott of Israel is another prerequisite.

Regarding the situation in the occupied territories, it is important for both sides now to show a certain self-control and that Israel should respect the articles of the fourth Geneva Convention. We hope that there will be a tangible improvement in the situation in the occupied territories, even before the application of provisional or other agreements. [passage omitted]

The elements of the process launched by the CSCE could serve as an inspiration and example. It shows how a modest starting point can generate enormous results. [passage omitted]

The CSCE also agreed on a whole series of measures to contribute to confidence and security which, with time, became a network of agreements on arms control which have really been very useful in Europe. Now they are needed very much and do not exist in the Middle East. Obviously, Europe is not the Middle East, but we believe that some of the lessons and some of the experiences of the CSCE could be useful. [passage omitted]

This is our vision of a global agreement between Israel and the Palestinians, and between Israel and the other neighbors—commitment, goodwill, and tenacity. These are the essential ingredients for progress in this type of negotiated solution. This is what has brought the different parties here. They have to think beyond today. In doing so, all sides can count on the full support, encouragement, and help for the negotiating process of the EC and its 12 member states. We will do everything we can. It is a promise which is an honor for me to present to you on this historic day, a day which marks a courageous step for each and every one of you, and a great step forward for peace in the Middle East.

Shamir Speaks 31 Oct

TA3110100791 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 0903 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Address by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir to the Middle East Peace conference at Madrid's Palacio Real—live, in English]

[Text] Distinguished cochairmen, ministers, members of delegations to the conference, ladies and gentlemen. Shalom. It is an honor to represent the people of Israel at this historic moment and a privilege to address this opening of peace talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors. I would like to express our profound appreciation to our Spanish hosts for their hospitality and for making this gathering for peace possible. In its 2,000 years of wandering, the Jewish people paused here for several hundred years until they were expelled 500 years ago. It was in Spain that the great Jewish poet and philosopher Yehuda Halevi expressed the yearning for Zion of all Jews, in the words: My heart is in the east while I am in the uttermost west.

I would also like to extend our appreciation to the cosponsors of this conference—to the United States, which has maintained a strong friendship with Israel in an alliance that overcomes occasional differences; and to the USSR, which saved the lives of many Jews during World War II and has now opened its gates to the repatriation of Jews to their ancient homeland. The people of Israel look to this palace with great anticipation and expectation. We pray that this meeting will mark the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Middle East; that it will signal the end of hostility, violence, terror, and war; that it will bring dialogue, accommodation, coexistence, and above all, peace.

Ladies and gentlemen, to appreciate the meaning of peace for the people of Israel, one has to view today's Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel against the background of our history. Jews have been persecuted throughout the ages in almost every continent. Some countries barely tolerated us; others oppressed, tortured, slaughtered, and exiled us. This century saw the Nazi regime set out to exterminate us. The Shoah—the Holocaust, the catastrophic genocide of unprecedented proportions which destroyed a third of our people—became possible because no one defended us. Being homeless, we were also defenseless. But it was not the Holocaust which made the world community recognize our rightful claim to the Land of Israel. In fact, the rebirth of the State of Israel so soon after the Holocaust has made the world forget that our claim is immemorial. We are the only people who have lived in the Land of Israel without interruption for nearly 4,000 years. We are the only people, except for a short Crusader kingdom, who have had an independent sovereignty in this land. We are the only people for whom Jerusalem has been a capital. We are the only people whose sacred places are only in the Land of Israel. No nation has expressed its bond with its land with as much intensity and consistency as we have. For millennia, our people repeated at every occasion the cry of the psalmist: If I forget thee, Jerusalem, may my right hand lose its cunning. For millennia, we have encouraged each other with the greeting: Next year in Jerusalem. For millennia, our prayers, literature, and folklore have expressed powerful longing to return to our land. Only Eretz Yisra'el, the Land of Israel, is our true homeland.

Any other country, no matter how hospitable, is still a diaspora, a temporary station on the way home. To others, it was not an attractive land; no one wanted it. Mark Twain described it only 100 years ago as a desolate country which sits in sackcloth and ashes—a silent, mournful expanse which not even imagination can grace with the pomp of life.

The Zionist movement gave political expression to our claim to the Land of Israel, and in 1922, the League of Nations recognized the justice of this claim. They understood the compelling historic imperative of establishing a Jewish homeland in the Land of Israel. The United Nations organization reaffirmed this recognition after World War II.

Regrettably, the Arab leaders, whose friendship we wanted most, opposed a Jewish state in the region. With a few distinguished exceptions, they claimed that the Land of Israel is part of the Arab domain that stretches from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf. In defiance of international will and legality, the Arab regimes attempted to overrun and destroy the Jewish state even before it was born. The Arab spokesmen at the United Nations declared that the establishment of a Jewish state would cause a bloodbath which would make the slaughters of Genghis Khan pale into insignificance. In its declaration of independence on May 15, 1948, Israel stretched out its hand in peace to its Arab neighbors, calling for an end to war and bloodshed. In response, seven Arab states invaded Israel. The UN resolution that partitioned the country was thus violated and effectively annulled.

The United Nations did not create Israel. The Jewish state came into being because the tiny Jewish community in what was Mandatory Palestine rebelled against foreign imperialist rule. We did not conquer a foreign land; we repulsed the Arab onslaught, prevented Israel's annihilation, declared its independence, and established a viable state and government institutions within a very short time.

After their attack on Israel failed, the Arab regimes continued their fight against Israel with boycott, blockade, terrorism, and outright war. Soon after the establishment of Israel, they turned against the Jewish communities in Arab countries. A wave of oppression, expropriation, and expulsion caused a mass exodus of some 800,000 Jews from lands they had inhabited from before the rise of the Islam. Most of the Jewish refugees, stripped of their considerable possessions, came to Israel. They were welcomed by the Jewish state, they were given shelter and support, and they were integrated into Israeli society, together with half a million survivors of the European Holocaust.

The Arab regimes' rejection of Israel's existence in the Middle East and the continuous war they have waged against it are part of history. There have been attempts to rewrite this history, which depicts the Arabs as victims and Israel as the aggressor. Like attempts to deny the Holocaust, they will fail. With the demise of totalitarian regimes in most of the world, this perversion of history will disappear.

In their war against Israel's existence, the Arab governments took advantage of the cold war. They enlisted the military, economic, and political support of the communist world against Israel, and they turned a local regional conflict into an international powder keg. This caused the Middle East to be flooded with arms, which fueled wars and turned the area into a dangerous battleground and a testing arena for sophisticated weapons.

At the UN, the Arab states mustered the support of other Muslim countries and the Soviet bloc. Together, they had an automatic majority for countless resolutions that perverted history, paraded fiction as fact, and made a travesty of the UN and its charter.

Arab hostility to Israel has also brought tragic human suffering to the Arab people. Tens of thousands have been killed and wounded; hundreds of thousands of Arabs who lived in Mandatory Palestine were encouraged by their own leaders to flee from their homes. Their suffering is a blot on humanity. No decent person—least of all a Jew of this era—can be oblivious to this suffering. Several hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs live in slums known as refugee camps in Gaza, Judaea, and Samaria. Attempts by Israel to rehabilitate and house them have been defeated by Arab objections. Nor has their fate been any better in Arab states. Unlike the Jewish refugees who came to Israel from Arab countries, most Arab refugees were neither welcomed not integrated by their hosts. Only the Kingdom of Jordan awarded them citizenship. Their plight has been used as a political weapon against Israel. The Arabs who have chosen to remain in Israel—Christian and Muslim—have become full-fledged citizens, enjoying equal rights and representation in the legislature, in the judiciary, and in all walks of life.

We, who over the centuries were denied access to our holy places, respect the religion of all faiths in our country. Our law guarantees freedom of worship and protects the holy places of every religion.

Distinguished cochairmen, ladies, and gentlemen, I stand before you today in yet another quest for peace—not only on behalf of the State of Israel, but in the name of the entire Jewish people that has maintained an unbreakable bond with the Land of Israel for almost 4,000 years. Our pursuit of accommodation and peace has been relentless. For us, the ingathering of Jews into their ancient homeland, their integration into our society, and the creation of the necessary infrastructure are at the very top of our national agenda.

A nation that faces such a gigantic challenge would most naturally desire peace with all its neighbors. Since the beginning of Zionism, we formulated innumerable peace proposals and plans. All of them were rejected. The first crack in the wall of hostility occurred in 1977, when the late President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt decided to break the taboo and come to Jerusalem. His gesture was reciprocated with enthusiasm by the people and Government of Israel, headed by Menahem Begin. This development led to the Camp David accords and a treaty of peace between Egypt and Israel. Four years later, in May 1983, an agreement was signed with the lawful government of Lebanon. Unfortunately, this agreement was not fulfilled because of outside intervention. But a precedent was set, and we look forward to courageous steps, similar to those of Anwar al-Sadat. Regrettably, not one Arab leader has seen fit to come forward and respond to our call for peace.

Today's gathering is a result of a sustained American effort based on our own peace plan of May 1989, which in turn was founded on the Camp David accords. According to the American initiative, the purpose of this meeting is to launch direct peace negotiations between Israel and each of its neighbors and multilateral negotiations on regional issues among all the countries of the region. We have always believed that only direct bilateral talks can bring peace. We have agreed to precede such talks with this ceremonial conference, but we hope that Arab consent to direct bilateral talks indicates an understanding that there is no other way to peace. In the Middle East, this has special meaning, because such talks imply mutual acceptance, and the root cause of the conflict is the Arab refusal to recognize the legitimacy of the State of Israel.

The multilateral talks that would accompany the bilateral negotiations are a vital component in the process. In these talks, the essential ingredients of coexistence and regional cooperation will be discussed. There cannot be genuine peace in our region unless these regional issues are addressed and resolved.

We believe the goal of the bilateral negotiations is to sign peace treaties between Israel and its neighbors and to reach an agreement on interim self-government arrangements with the Palestinian Arabs. But nothing can be achieved without goodwill. I appeal to the Arab leaders—those who are here and those who have not yet joined the process: Show us and the world that you accept Israel's existence. Demonstrate your readiness to accept Israel as a permanent entity in the region. Let the people in our region hear you speak in the language of reconciliation, coexistence, and peace with Israel. In Israel, there is an almost total consensus for the need for peace. We only differ on the best ways to achieve it. In most Arab countries, the opposite seems to be true. The only differences are over the ways to push Israel into a defenseless position and, ultimately, to destruction. We would like to see in your countries an end to poisonous preachings against Israel. We would like to see an indication of the kind of hunger for peace which characterizes Israeli society.

We appeal to you to renounce the jihad against Israel; we appeal to you to denounce the PLO Covenant which calls for Israel's destruction; we appeal to you to condemn declarations that call for Israel's annihilation, like the one issued by the rejectionist conference in Tehran last week; we appeal to you to let Jews who wish to leave your countries go. And we address a call to the Palestinian Arabs: Renounce violence and terrorism. Use the universities in the administered territories, whose existence was made possible only by Israel, for learning and development, not agitation and violence. Stop exposing your children to danger by sending them to throw bombs and stones at soldiers and civilians.

Just two days ago, we were reminded that Palestinian terrorism is still rampant, when the mother of seven children and the father of four were slaughtered in cold blood. We cannot remain indifferent and be expected to talk with people involved in such repulsive activities.

We appeal to you to shun dictators like Saddam Husayn who aim to destroy Israel. Stop the brutal torture and murder of those who do not agree with you. Allow us and the world community to build decent housing for the people who now live in refugee camps. Above all, we hope you finally realize that you could have been at this table long ago, soon after the Camp David accords were first concluded, had you chosen dialogue instead of violence, coexistence instead of terrorism.

Ladies and gentlemen, we come to this process with an open heart, sincere intentions, and great expectations. We are committed to negotiating without interruption, until an agreement is reached. There will be problems, obstacles, crises, and conflicting claims, but it is better to talk than to shed blood. Wars have not solved anything in our region; they have only caused misery, suffering, bereavement, and hatred.

We know our partners to the negotiations will make territorial demands on Israel but, as an examination of the conflict's long history makes clear, its nature is not territorial. It raged well before Israel acquired Judaea, Samaria, Gaza, and the Golan in a defensive war. There was no hint at recognition of Israel before the war in 1967, when the territories in question were not under Israel's control.

We are a nation of 4 million. The Arab nations from the Atlantic to the Gulf number 170 million. We control only 28,000 square km. The Arabs possess a land mass of 14 million square km. The issue is not territory, but our existence. It will be regrettable if the talks focus primarily and exclusively on territory. It is the quickest way to an impasse.

What we need, first and foremost, is the building of confidence, the removal of the danger of confrontation, and the development of relations in as many spheres as possible. The issues are complex, and the negotiations will be lengthy and difficult. We submit that the best venue for the talks is in our region, in close proximity to the decisionmakers, not in a foreign land. We invite our partners to this process to come to Israel for the first round of talks. On our part, we are ready to go to Jordan, to Lebanon, and to Syria for the same purpose. There is no better way to make peace than to talk in each other's some. Avoiding such talks is a denial of the purpose of the negotiations. I would welcome a positive answer from the representatives of these states here and now. We must learn to live together. We must learn to live without war, without hatred.

Judaism has given the world not only the belief in one god, but the idea that all men and women are created in God's image. There is no greater sin than to ravage this image by shedding blood. I am sure that there is no Arab mother who wants her son to die in battle, just as there is no Jewish mother who wants her son to die in war. I believe every mother wants her children to learn the art of living, not the science of war.

For many hundreds of years, wars, deep antagonisms, and terrible suffering cursed this continent on which we meet. The nations of Europe saw the rise of dictators and their defeat after lengthy and painful struggles. Now they are together, former bitter enemies, in a united community. They are discussing the good of the community, cooperating in all matters, acting almost as one unit. I envy them. I would like to see such a community rise in the Middle East, and I believe that despite all differences between us we should be able, gradually, to build a united regional community. Today it is a dream, but we have seen in our own lifetimes some of the most fantastic dreams become reality. Today the gulf separating the two sides is still too wide, the Arab hostility to Israel too deep, the lack of trust too immense to permit a dramatic, quick solution, but we must start on the long road to reconciliation with this first step in the peace process.

We are convinced that human nature prefers peace to war and belligerence. We, who have had to fight seven wars and sacrifice many thousands of lives, glorify neither death nor war. The Jewish faith exalts peace, even to the extent that it considers it a synonym for the Creator himself. We yearn for peace; we pray for peace.

We believe the blessing of peace can turn the Middle East into a paradise, a center of cultural, scientific, medical, technological creativity. We can foresee a period of great economic progress that would put an end to misery, hunger, and illiteracy. It could put the Middle East, the cradle of civilization, on the road to a new era. Such a goal merits our devotion and dedication for as long as it is necessary, until, in the words of the prophet Isaiah, we shall be able to turn swords into plowshares and bring the blessings of peace to all the peoples of our region.

Let me conclude with the words of the same prophet: Peace, peace, both for far and near, sayeth the Lord [verse preceded by Hebrew version].

Distinguished cochairmen, ladies, and gentlemen, let us resolve to leave this hall with the united determination that from now on, any differences we may have will be solved only by negotiations, goodwill, and mutual tolerance. Let us declare, here and now, an end to war, to belligerency, and to hostility. Let us march forward together to reconciliation and peace. Thank you. [applause]

Jordan's Abu-Jabir Speaks

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[Speech by Jordanian Foreign Minister Kamil Abu-Jabir, head of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace conference, in Madrid on 31 October—live; italicized passages in Arabic]

[Text] *In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. May God's peace and blessings be upon you. Ladies and Gentlemen: I greet you with the greeting of peace from the land of peace in the name of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan—king, government, and people. A greeting of peace and hope, beseeching God the Almighty to guide us to what is good and successful. Now, allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to address you in English. I start by saying:* Blessed are the peace makers. The honorable James Baker, secretary of state of the United States of America; the honorable Mr. Boris Pankin, foreign minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; distinguished personal representative of the secretary general of the United Nations, Ambassador Edward Brunner; the distinguished head of the European Community delegation, Mr. Hans van den Broek, foreign minister of the Kingdom of the Netherlands; the distinguished observer from the Gulf Cooperation Council, Mr. 'Abdallah Bisharah; the distinguished observer from the Maghreb Cooperation Council, Mr. Mohammad 'Amamu; distinguished delegates; Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is with sincere appreciation that I thank the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics for cosponsoring this conference. For us, this occasion represents what we must strive to make, the final turning point from a drift towards ultimate disaster for our peoples, our region, and possibly the world, to a new era of properly constructed true peace, hope, and life. All the parties to this most tragic and chronic conflict need your continued interest and support, together with the rest of the world so that we may attain the just peace that the peoples of the region need and deserve. We also salute His Majesty King Juan Carlos, the guardian of Spanish democracy, as well as Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, the Spanish Government and people for hosting this conference in Madrid. We thank them for their gracious hospitality and their warm welcome.

Ladies and Gentlemen: This is an historic moment. The challenges and the issues before us are momentous. In a speech before the National Congress in Amman on October 12, 1991, His Majesty King Husayn identifies the essence of the challenge when he spoke of the possibilities of true peace, and the simplifications for the future of the children of Abraham, Jews and Arabs alike.

It is worthy of note that Spain seeks to honor Arabs and Jews in 1992, in the context of the contributions of Andalusia and Sepharid. Together, they contributed to a rich civilization, the fruits of which not only Spain, but the world and humanity have appreciated.

It is not impossible to hope that this conference will herald a new dawn, the new dawn of a new era to rectify the mistakes of the past. Perhaps, the possibility of joint contribution is again at hand. Everyone must remember, and I quote the holy Koran, that *God has created mankind as nations and tribes, so that you may know each other. The most noble of you in the sight of God is the most pious.*

And if this conference does anything, it must end Israel's self- righteous attitude to live by its own rules alone. This conference is also about the credibility of international law, the United Nations Charter, and human rights.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Jordan comes to this conference in good faith. Our vision is not merely an end to hostility, another truce, but a comprehensive, just, and permanent peace. Our region has known nothing but instability and violence since the turn of this century. It is about time that it enjoys peace. What is needed is not only sight, but vision as well—vision to stand on top of the hill, and not in the valley, so as to enable ourselves to look into the future and to evaluate the consequences of the absence of peace. For far too long, the peoples of the region have been locked in the groove of their own historical animosities, suspicions, and acrimony.

That's why we in Jordan register our appreciation for the endeavor of President Bush as well as the support of President Gorbachev. It is our hope that their personal interest and support will remain, even increase, throughout the process of the negotiations.

We come to this conference standing on strong moral grounds, buttressed by a record of moderation and wise vision, since the creation of our state in modern time. The most tragic conflict which we are now addressing is one of the oldest on the agenda of the United Nations. And though it may appear regional, its international dimensions are many and obvious. It is specially so against the background of the Gulf crisis, in that it severely tests the credibility of the United Nations and that of the five permanent members of the Security Council. It was in the wake of the Gulf crisis that President Bush undertook to work seriously toward a resolution.

Mr. Baker's creative and tireless efforts, which we appreciate, will certainly earn him a comfortable niche in history books.

We also appreciate the Soviet cosponsorship of the effort, as well as the support of the European Community. We take heart that this whole enterprise is firmly anchored in international legitimacy, as embodied in UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, based on the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force and providing for the exchange of land for peace.

While it was true that most Arabs, out of a sense of outrage and feelings of injustice and betrayal, have refused since 1947 to contemplate accommodation, there were others in the Arab world who were willing to be counted for peace. Over the decades of the thirties, the forties, and beyond—indeed, until the present moment—the arena was abandoned to the radicals. In the clash of ideas, visions, and armies that have ensued since then, reason of [word indistinct] humanity itself was pushed beyond the frontiers of choice. The situation deteriorated to the condition of a primitive state of nature, where brute force replaced civilized behavior and where might replaced right.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which I have the honor to represent, has been since the outset of this conflict on the side of every efforts to solve it peacefully. King Husayn was actively involved in the formulation of UN Security Council Resolution 242, a foundation of this conference.

Ladies and gentlemen, today we have an historic opportunity for peace in a land that has not tasted it for a long time. We must remember that the extremists and the rejectionists who speak in absolute terms are still lurking in the wings. It is from there that they issue their often repeated cliches and venomous threats. Inasmuch as peace is a good in itself and inherent value, it is also a battle against the absolutist ideologues invoking ancient hatreds. Many think that the situation should not be resolved, but left to future generations to deal with.

Those of vision, however, see it differently, considering the immediacy of the need to reach a peaceful settlement at this particular moment of world history, with its interdependence between peoples and nations. King Husayn said: We must be involved in the drive for peace, because it concerns our present and our future. Otherwise, the outcome, God forbid, will be ominous dangers.

It is for this reason that it is important to emphasize transcending the present in our search of the future. To continue to be locked in the mental straightjackets of absolutist ideologies means that there will never be a way out of the shackles of hatred.

We take to heart and respect the words of President Bush in his March 6, 1991 address before the American Congress when he said: I expressed my hope that out of the horrors of war might come new momentum for peace. We have learned in the modern age geography cannot guarantee security, and security does not come from military power alone. By now, it should be plain, the president said, to all parties that the peacemaking in the Middle East requires compromise.

Peace cannot, indeed must not, reflect the military balance of the belligerence now. It should essentially reflect the hope of a better future that will end once and for all our living in the midst of conflicting tragedies. It should bring us all in step with a new world that will shatter the shadows, the misery, and the fog that engulfs our lives.

It was Albert Einstein who said peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding. It should not be a peace at any price, not at all, but an honorable peace with which we and the future generations can live; a durable peace which is a product of negotiations. It must be the outcome of mutual understanding and accommodation between the parties to the conflict without sacrificing rights, and without deviating from the principles of international law. Jordan's position rests on the very simple, yet direct, assumption that in the end nothing is true but the truth, that a moral and a just stand is ultimately more powerful than mere force.

Although the world and the Israelis themselves know, and are aware of, our innocence of the crimes against the Jewish people, Israel's indignant outrage has not induced a sense of balanced justice. It has become our fate in Jordan to live with, as well as to suffer and to contain, the powerful forces of extremism. The Nazis and others unleashed the passions of injured Zionism, for which the Palestinians and Jordan, and indeed the Arab world in its entirety, continue to pay the price. God only knows the price we continue to pay for the sins of others.

It has come to pass that our land, our culture, our people, our very souls, as well as everything we hold dear and sacred, continue to be plundered and distorted to accommodate new realities and manufactured facts brutally created on the ground. And so it is that we not only ask what to do, but also welcome the present effort. The question is the more agonizing to us as we in the Arab world, we in Jordan in particular, contemplate our situation. In Jordan, three times in four decades we had to make room for large waves of destitute and bewildered refugees forced out of their homes and lands.

We are aware, as are our people, that in the nature of things, a negotiated settlement is not, and does not represent total justice. Yet, with our traditional Jordanian moderation, rational approach, and consideration of our vision of the future, we have made consensus and balance a cornerstone of our political thesis since 1967. In the words of King Husayn, peace is essential to us in leading a normal life; we have made it a symbol for a better life for future generations; peace has become a national objective. That is why we think that the formula of land for peace rings more meaningfully true than any other principle or slogan. The echo of the drums of war reverberates in the heart and the soul of the region. Is it not time that we, now on the threshold of the 21st century, bring peace to our peoples?

Ladies and gentlemen: Jordan enters this process from a position of moral strength, secure in the knowledge that reasonable men can reach reasonable solutions, that justice must ultimately prevail, that peace is, indeed, the master of all judgments. And this logic necessitates accommodation, and not belligerency. Otherwise, we may truly become one dimensional, with neither soul nor spirit, driven by the primeval instincts of the political jungle, leading us to perish in perils of our own making. We should shed the psychology of fear, we should get out of the shadows, and we should realize that states, too, like people, sometimes commit suicide because of their fear of life.

More land is not more security. Occupation is against every legal principle. And the shape it has taken in the Arab occupied territories contravenes the United Nations Charter and the Fourth Geneva Convention. The building of settlements and the expropriation of land are both in clear contravention of the rules of international law. The justice that Jordan seeks requires resort to law—law that governs the actions of men, freeing them to live secure in a stable order and institutionalized universe. That, and that alone, can assure the proper division of labor and resources. And that alone can guarantee not only survival, but freedom and security. The technology of war has far outdistanced our appreciation of its destructiveness and danger. Otherwise, how can we continue to contemplate our security in missiles, nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Our mission must transcend the issues of mere survival to become the search for a new future. That is why His Majesty King Husayn, in his nationwide speech on the 12th of October 1991, solicited the help of and support of the international community in this process.

Our cause, his majesty said, is not only between us and Israel, but also between the world and Israel; between the supremacy of international law and the flouting of it. The whole world rejects what Israel's leadership is saying, because it contravenes international legitimacy. Indeed, a relatively growing segment of the Israelis themselves are not far from this world view. The king added that our world today is peace-oriented, and that the Arabs and the rest of the world will come together in their mutual desire and interest to find a peaceful solution. That is one of the bases of the Jordanian position: a search for peace, secure in the support of the entire Arab world, indeed the whole world community and in particular the Palestinians. We and the Palestinians have a just cause, which must be addressed and resolved with equity and with fairness. Our second basis for entering this peace process is our expectation that there will be no asymmetry or double standards.

The third basis of the Jordanian approach is that our cause and that of our Palestinian brethren is intricately linked by ties of history, culture, religion, language, demography, geography, as well as human suffering and human aspirations and national aspirations. The king said: We would have preferred an independent Palestinian delegation, though we have no objection to providing an umbrella for our Palestinian brethren, since we are keenly aware that both Jordanians and Palestinians are besieged as the parties directly and adversely affected by the continuation of the status quo of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Fourth, the peace we seek must be based on United Nations Security Resolutions 242 and 338. The objective is real peace. We must emphasize that our understanding of Resolution 242 is that it is based on the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war, and the exchange of land for peace. The deliberations preceding its adoption, and in which Jordan participated, were based on that principle. Our position is firmly based on United Nations resolutions and international law.

We are aware that Israel's creation was the result of UN Resolution 181 of November 29, 1947. It is in accordance with the strength of these resolutions, as well as the general principles of international law, that Jordan demands the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied Jordanian, Palestinian, Syrian, and Lebanese lands.

The three dimensions of the Jordanian position—the Jordanian, the Palestinian, and the regional—are founded on international law. Resolution 242 is a valid international instrument unanimously agreed upon by the international community. It is binding on all member states of the United Nations in accordance with Article 25 of the UN Charter.

Arab sovereignty must be restored in Arab Jerusalem. In the context of peace, Jerusalem will represent the essence and symbol of peace between the followers of the three great monotheistic religions. It is God's will that has made the historic city important to them all.

The illegal settlements should be removed, not augmented. The issue of Palestinian refugees and that of the displaced must be solved in accordance with relevant UN resolutions. The Palestinian people must be allowed to exercise their right of self- determination in their ancestral homeland. The fulfillment of these demands is a question of the credibility of the UN resolutions. Let me speak plainly, let me speak plainly that Jordan has never been Palestine and will not be so.

Withdrawal from Lebanon and the application of UN Security Council Resolution 425 is also an essential prerequisite for the establishment of regional peace.

Fifth, the peace we seek as a result of negotiations is a permanent one, a just one, a comprehensive peace; peace that will focus on region-wide issues, such as arms control and regional security, water, the environment, the fate of the Palestinian refugees and the displaced, and the economic balance among the peoples of the area through joint development programs.

Peace must mean security for all, protected by all in their hearts and their souls, because it is founded on justice and honor.

Sixth, our position is also predicated on the vision of a better future that will replace the present bitterness and frustration. And, in the words of King Husayn, enable us to transform these realities into positive forces that will take us from despair to hope, from confrontation and the four decades of suffering, anxiety, and pain that accompanied it, and which left an imprint on our lives, to peace and its promise of security, stability, opportunities, and prosperity for all; from the no-war, no-peace situation and its real dangers, to a condition of certainty and ease which will enhance the creativity and the hopes of the younger generation.

We seek real peace where men, women, and children do not have to cower behind fortresses. Our quest is for an honorable peace that would enable our peoples to tear down the walls of fear and hatred, as people tore down the wall of Berlin. We want our peoples to welcome a new dawn and to enjoy the warmth of a new day, rather than the long night of darkness which has been their fortune until now.

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is our hope that the world appreciates and supports our position based, as it is, on our liberal and peaceful Jordanian experiment in socioeconomic and political development—an experiment that deserves support as it continues the Jordanian tradition of democratization, institutionalization, and the transition to political pluralism. The test, indeed the challenge, of peace is both domestic and global in that it severely exacerbates our current economic crisis as we are compelled to absorb a third wave of returnees in the wake of the Gulf crisis.

We hope that this peace conference will work toward the solution of all these momentous problems, leading not only to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Arab occupied lands, including Arab Jerusalem, but also to the delineation of Israel's permanent borders, and finally real peace. We have taken a bold step which commits us to innovative thinking that will bring peace and prosperity to our region. The parties, the parties to this conflict suffer from too many recollections of their wounded cultures. Somehow, we must endeavor to bring about the change needed. We cannot continue to inhabit two different universes in this small space of land with its limited resources. Already there is too much ideological rigidity that continues to be an obstacle to sensible and rational life. To those who continue to think in absolute terms, we must emphasize that while history may have time, men are mortal, that not only our civilizations need their wounds to be healed, but the very land scarred by the march of armies and the drums of war needs mending as well. There exists a limit to force and this may be the moment to heal not only the mental agony, but to remove the physical trenches dug deep in the land. This requires patience, vision, perseverance, and wisdom deeper than mere intelligence.

Ladies and Gentlemen: It is fitting to end this statement with a verse from the Holy Koran: *Let not a people's enmity toward you incite you to act contrary to justice. Be always just, that is, closest to righteousness.* Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. [applause]

Leaders, Spokesmen Brief Press 30-31 Oct

Gorbachev, Gonzalez

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[News conference by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez at Madrid's Moncloa Palace; Gorbachev speaks in Russian with simultaneous Spanish translation—live]

[Text] [Gonzalez] I want to announce first of all that this will be a brief news conference. We have 15 minutes we can spend with you. I don't need to introduce President Gorbachev. Summarizing our talks, I can say that they have been very interesting. We discussed the potential of the conference that was initiated in Madrid a few hours ago. We will be very discreet about this issue. We exchanged ideas about the Soviet Union's relations with Western Europe and the world and about how events have developed since August. Today we again have the pleasure of having President Gorbachev here. He has the floor as of this moment. I again want to welcome him most warmly to Spain.

[Gorbachev] Thank you very much, Mr. Prime Minister, for your warm welcome. I want to come to the point right away. The talks I have held with my good friend President Gonzalez are already on record. These talks are becoming increasingly significant.

We have looked at the problems or rather the facts and events taking place here in the Spanish capital, Madrid, by which I mean the Middle East peace conference. We also agreed that we would maintain joint action in the future to preserve the atmosphere which has reigned over the work of the conference on its first day. At least we have seen a willingness on the part of all to make their contributions to the cause of this conference.

But we are realists, too. We see that along the road of the process of these talks, in the framework of bilateral and multilateral talks, as well as that of bilateral and regional problems, and so forth, it will be necessary to confront and overcome numerous obstacles. But I think this, too, is natural, because this conflict has been going on for a long time, and an enormous number of contradictions have accumulated over a long period in the Middle East.

That was the first part of our talks. I am totally satisfied with the mutual understanding we have found in discussing these matters.

We also dedicated time to discuss the world, the changing Europe, the changing Soviet Union, and Spain, which is also changing. This has been a continuation to a dialogue we initiated long ago. We have provided each other information, analyses of situations. This has been very interesting and important. In any event I want to say that, as far as I am concerned, these conversations and exchanges of opinion have allowed me to understand better the position not only of Mr. Gonzalez but also of my Western partners, positions that are important for me to know and to understand so that I may know where I stand and so that everybody may be fully aware of our situation, of the transformations that are taking place in my country and in Europe. These were the topics of our discussions.

If you are interested in knowing about other things, I am prepared to answer your questions.

[Gonzalez] Let us begin. Let us see if I can establish an intercontinental balance in alloting the questions.

[Unidentified reporter] Presidents Gorbachev and Gonzalez, please tell us your opinions on the role that Spain might play as a bridge between the Soviet Union and the West. We are speaking of bridges because we still cannot speak of the Soviet Union's integration into the world economic system. What role would each country play in building these bridges?

[Gonzalez] Well, I think it would be very unlikely for us to be the bridge between the Soviet Union and the Western world because the Soviet Union has all its communications channels with the Western world open. The USSR already has privileged channels of communication with Western Europe and the United States. So what can we contribute? It goes without saying that we are prepared to bring our maximum efforts to bear for mutual understanding. My view of the relationship with the Soviet Union is that the Soviet Union should be maintained as a union—and I use that word in its strongest sense—capable of being an interlocutor for the rest of the world. I do not want anybody to push me into something I describe as a false debate. To back the union is to defend the interests of the country I represent, and also Europe's interests, I believe. Such backing is perfectly compatible with respect and support for democratic reforms in all the republics. If we can help clarify for the Western world that this is great support for stability and cooperation, we are willing to do it. We cannot, however, exceed our own country, our own role. We are a medium-sized country: Not small enough to be overlooked, not big enough to be feared. As a medium-sized country, we want to do our work for understanding, respect, and increased cooperation.

[Gorbachev] I would like to add a few words. As the result of the transformations taking place in the country, the Soviet Union is turning its face to the rest of the world. Its objective is to be incorporated into the world civilization and economy. This is a very complex process, particularly for us, who must overcome the system's crisis. Otherwise, it would be impossible to understand the process. We are dealing with a crisis in the system. It is also a difficult process for our interlocutors. This is why this problem has never been solved in our civilization. Therefore, we value the process very highly. We expect political dialogue and cooperation in disarmament and the search for new approaches in building healthy international relations and everything else that has allowed us to get away from the cold war and the use of force and imbalance in an effort to defend the interests of all people. It is essential and a priority for us to maintain this status. I see Spain's role in this, which was discussed by President Gonzalez. I wish to point out, also, that we are not going to play down the role which this country could play. I see perfectly well the role that the prime minister could play, with his great potential for promoting constructive plans for fresh relations, including the integration of the Soviet Union into the whole world. Finally, I see a special role for Spain, because Spain is a country which currently finds itself in a stage of profound transformations. Spain's experience could therefore be useful for us.

[Diez] Diez of the daily LA VANGUARDIA. My question is addressed to President Gorbachev. Mr. President, I think this is the first time that you have met with Mr. Gonzalez since the attempted coup. You know with how much interest and emotion we followed the foiled coup in your country in August. Do you think an act like this might be repeated in the Soviet Union? Thanks.

[Gorbachev] Your question allows me to express my recognition for the solidarity received from the government, His Majesty the King of Spain, and the prime minister, who left aside their vacations and rest and quickly came to Madrid to study the crisis. Spain was one of the first countries to express neatly and clearly its position. This had an enormous influence on the whole world and we appreciate this solidarity shown by the Spanish Government and people.

I must also say that about one month prior to the coup d'etat I had the opportunity to receive Prime Minister Gonzalez. We had an interesting conversation and made an interesting analysis of the situation and of the possible dangers. In the book on the coup that will be published in a few days, I recall my conversation with the prime minister. We spoke of the causes, the effects, and the lessons we learned.

On whether I believe this coup attempt could be repeated, I will say this: Prior to the coup I said—and this is in the book I just mentioned—that my task during these past years has been to take the perestroyka process in our society to the point that it would exclude any possibility, any attempt, any possibility, I repeat, for a coup d'etat. I believe that in general terms we have accomplished this. First, we have averted a total national conflict. Second, as a result of the democratic reforms such as glasnost and our relations with the rest of the world, our society rejected the coup outright. It did not accept it for a moment.

Continuing these thoughts, I do not believe that any further coup attempts will succeed. I believe that the forces of reaction have been beaten. So where could the danger come from? I shall tell you straight out, although you probably know the answer anyway. The danger could come from a social situation of great tension such as we have in our society. People's discontent is enormous. People are awaiting real and radical processes, positive processes, and that is our primary job now. If in the months ahead, changes are not made, then people's disenchantment could reach the point where it provokes political adventurism that does not seek constructive measures to resolve the situation, but rather seeks to impose by force a solution that people do not want. We, therefore, have to move reforms forward as quickly as possible and take advantage of this opportunity afforded us by the defeat of the coup d'etat.

[Second unidentified reporter] A few months ago, not too long ago, one of your trips abroad apparently was aimed at gathering support to face domestic pressure. Is this the situation now? I would like to know if the people receiving you now find it more difficult to provide economic aid than to make promises, or if the matter is that after 19 August you inspire less confidence.

[Gorbachev] I think that since August everyone has had much to think about. Everybody in the Soviet Union is thinking carefully. This includes the opposition. Everybody is evaluating what has happened. The Soviet Union is carrying out a process taking into consideration what happened in August. We have learned lessons from what happened. We think about what has happened in the Soviet Union, what happened to the restructuring of the political forces. Everybody is thinking about this, and not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Spain, Europe, and the whole world. Everybody is thinking about this process. Everybody sees the process from a global perspective.

I want to say that, following the August events, my efforts toward cooperation have had more positive and significant results. I want to point out the interest that other countries have in helping us in this decisive transformation phase in the Soviet Union.

[German] Ricardo German, from the Italian news agency ANSA. President Gorbachev, all of us greatly admire Mrs. Raisa Gorbacheva. I would like to know what kind of inspiration she provides you? That is my first question. My second question: Your delegation includes the foreign minister of Tajikistan. Does this mean that you recognize Tajikistan's independence from the Soviet Union? Thank you.

[Gonzalez] I do not hear you. I do not hear you correctly. They believe you have finished. Go ahead.

[German] Prime Minister Gonzalez, the conference is open. Do you think it will make progress?

[Gorbachev] The answer to your first question is obvious to everybody. I am linked to Raisa Gorbacheva, my wife, by many years of marriage. She is not just a member of my family. This is not just a personal relationship. Ours is a great friendship based on mutual and constant support. I experienced this support especially during those very difficult coup d'etat days, when my family adopted a very clear position, when my family and my wife told me that they were ready to be at my side regardless of my fate, regardless of what may happen. That was first.

Regarding the presence of representatives of Tajikistan in my delegation, I would like to point out that my delegation also includes representatives of Russia. The idea I want to express here, and I think that my colleagues in the State Council, which comprises the leaders of all the republics, back me, is that a renewed union has to transfer power, that it does not have to be a shapeless state. It has to be a clear structure and have mechanisms to influence clearly the economic, political, and social situation. This will be a state resulting from a union with its own attributes. It must be responsible for foreign policy, for defense, for drafting policies in the framework of a single economic condition, and for the drafting of new and common rules of the game within a grand unified market. I am not going to list any more aspects.

So this implies that the new center of the union will have representatives from all the republics, thus improving the representation at the center, which will be an expression of the new situation. This is what we are working on constantly. This is why representatives from the republics participate in our international policy efforts and in important international events. All this implies, as I have said, the participation of representatives from our republics. The independence that the republics are proclaiming creates the possibility of adopting decisions involving the creation of a new union.

[Gonzalez] Your question is very difficult to answer, as you very well know. I will dare to state a thought, rather than to answer it.

Until a couple of years ago, for example, it was difficult to imagine, when speaking with different people—whether Chinese, Syrians, Jordanians, or Israelis—that there would come a time when a dialogue would begin. It was difficult to imagine a stage like the one you saw this morning. That was difficult to imagine also just a few months ago. Well, today we have seen, for the first time in 43 years, a table around which are sitting the necessary interlocutors to arrive at peace and cooperation. A very important step has been taken. What would I like to tell you? Just this: Please, do not reach excessively hasty conclusions about the speeches to be made today and tomorrow. Let us have a little bit of patience in a conflict that, above all, requires patience after so many years. Therefore, I have hope.

[Third unidentified reporter] There was talk about Spanish-Soviet relations and about economic cooperation. I would like to know if the interethnic problems that have occurred in the USSR will have a negative influence on that cooperation.

[Gorbachev] For the moment, no. That has not happened. The promises given by the prime minister and the Government of Spain have been confirmed by real steps. That cooperation is gathering strength, so I am very pleased. It could be said that this is one of the countries with which we established relations rather late. But now some very important changes really are happening. Fortunately, it can be said that today again we have established that we shall continue to cooperate in these conditions, difficult as things are, and the Soviet Union is hoping for even greater support on the part of Spain and Prime Minister Gonzalez. Those favoring democratic reforms in our country will bear in mind this difficult moment in their practical policies.

[Gonzalez] Our position on that matter is clear. You already heard me say so a year ago. I reiterate it now. At times, we are distressed that channels of communication are still not developed enough to be effective. Consequently, from the Spanish and EEC viewpoint, we would like to perfect those channels of communication, so that cooperation can indeed be further strengthened.

Thank you very much. We are going to allow a final question. I believe we have maintained a certain degree of balance. Do not worry, it will be the next-to-last question.

[Fourth unidentified reporter] Mr. Gorbachev, what specific agreement did you fail to reach concerning cooperation with Spain? What has not been achieved?

[Gorbachev] There was no such problem in today's talks.

[Reporter] In the area of economic cooperation with Spain? In today's talks, was a specific agreement reached regarding economic cooperation with Spain?

[Gorbachev] I can say that today we have had no problems in this regard. There was total mutual understanding. Any new problems will be dealt with as they arise.

[Gonzalez] I wish to explain that we have a treaty with perfectly established and defined lines of credit, a treaty that is functioning, in addition to our commitments to the EEC, which have also been quantified and are functioning. Therefore, it is not that we have to establish an agreement now. We are implementing an already existent treaty, and naturally, difficulties that emerge in the course of events are purely ones of implementation. It is not a matter of any doubt between us. This is functioning, and I hope that it will function better all the time.

That was the next-to-last question, please. I do not wish to leave any questions unanswered.

[Bares] I am Vicente Bares. I want to ask President Gorbachev if he considers that the Soviet Union has played a secondary role in calling for this peace conference, compared to the United States? Many thanks.

[Gorbachev] I feel it is hard for me to try and determine here the Soviet Union's role, nevertheless, I will take the risk. I must say that I have no ambitions regarding this, but to reflect reality I must say simply that the Soviet Union's role is irreplaceable. This was said both publicly and privately by Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Bush. I do not want to add further points to support this assertion. It is quite obvious.

[Gonzalez] I will give you additional information. I have been able to verify from the regional speakers, which is what counts, what President Gorbachev has just said. Therefore, I believe this defines very well what is happening. Many thanks. We have exceeded the time by 15 minutes. As you know, our schedule is a little tight.

'Ashrawi Statement on Bush Speech

LD3010170391 Madrid TVE Internacional Television in Spanish 1132 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Statement by Palestinian delegation spokeswoman Hanan 'Ashrawi to reporters at the Casa de Campo conference press center in Madrid on 30 October—live, in English with simultaneous Spanish translation]

[Text] First of all, I would like to give a short reaction to President Bush's speech. It seems to us very significant that there can be no peace without legitimacy and there can be no legitimacy without impartiality. For us, justice and impartiality are very important. We have always called for impartiality, and we believe that legitimacy is on our side and that its implementation will guarantee our rights.

Another positive statement referred to Palestinian control of their destiny. This is very important. We believe that this is a step toward self-determination. We realize that they have not referred to self-determination as a principle, but we know that significant control of our own destiny is something which leads in that direction. They have also reiterated the fact that the arrangements are not going to prejudice the outcome, and this is linked with the question of Jerusalem and also with exclusions from the delegation. There are some omissions—they have omitted the basic principle of land for peace as well as the premise on which this whole exercise started, but at the same time he did allude to Resolution 242 which, in the preamble and in substance, talks about the [words indistinct] acquisition of land by force. The Palestinian people's political rights, which were discussed in his March speech, were not repeated here, but at the same time it is superimposed by the meaningful control of our destiny.

While he did not allude to settlements on the one hand, to the cessation of the settlements, he also did not allude to any specific issues dealing with Jerusalem with the exception of that phrase about the arrangements for interim [words indistinct] will not prejudice the final outcome, and this coincides with the charter of guarantees we have received.

There have been no surprises. I think he reiterated his real concern for peace and affirmed that they are going to work very hard to attain a lasting peace, giving guarantees for the future. This is what the Palestinians have requested, that we need guarantees. There has to be a big power or external participation, positive participation, in the future of the region, above all in terms of development and also to try to reach real solutions. He said that they will give guarantees and technical assistance to the region to help channel the region's resources in more constructive ways.

On this basis we can conclude that the speech itself was consistent with U.S. policy. It maintains some of the positions set out in the charter of guarantees, and it also directly challenged the Israelis on the matter of territorial compromise. It also stressed the principles of justice and impartiality, and will set the course of the negotiations that the initial phases would not prejudice the final outcome and, finally, I think [words indistinct] what the United States has so far been extremely reluctant to mention: the inalienable right of the Palestinians, the right to self-determination of the Palestinians. And nobody has the right to take it away from us. I can reply to your questions.

More on 'Ashrawi Remarks

JN3010173791 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1625 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Interview with Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, member of the Palestinian Advisory Council, by correspondent Muhammad al-Sharif in Madrid on 30 October—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Al-Sharif] Dr. Hanan 'Ashrawi, you are here in Madrid and are playing an important role in the peace conference. In light of this Palestinian participation, what has the Palestinian cause gained through participation in the conference?

['Ashrawi] First, it has obtained an international podium from which it speaks to the world. The Palestinian cause has also won the recognition that the Palestinian people, like any other people, can sit at the negotiations table on an equal footing.

[Al-Sharif] You listened to the speeches delivered by the U.S. and USSR presidents. Have you sensed new positive points in these speeches with respect to the Palestinian cause?

['Ashrawi] There was not much new or unexpected. But there was first an insistence to proceed with the peace process and an attempt to render it a success with all methods. There was also a recognition of legitimacy and justice in tackling the Palestinian cause, and this is a basic issue for us. President Bush also tackled the issue of the Palestinians' getting control of their destiny. This is something that paves the way for the right to self-determination. [passage omitted]

Jordan's Abu-Jabir

JN3010212891 Amman Radio Jordan in English 2043 GMT 30 Oct 91

[News conference by Foreign Minister Kamil Abu-Jabir, head of the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, in Madrid on 30 October—live]

[Text] [Abu-Jabir] Let me start by saying that we come here with an open heart and an open mind. We did not come here to win a debate. We did not come here to score points. We did not come here to prove that the other party or any party right or wrong. We came here to reach a peaceful settlement, a peaceful settlement that will settle our agonized region, a region that, as you know, has not tasted peace for a very, very long time.

We realize that peace cannot be done by one party alone. That we understand. We also realize that what is in the hearts and the minds of men is more important than the statements that they make or, sometimes, even than some of the actions that they may take.

We understand by peace that it should be a just, a durable, a comprehensive, and a lasting peace. Now if we take this, each one of these words, and analyze it, I think we will give all a structure and meaning to the peace that we are talking about. As you know, Jordan has always been a moderate, a rational, and an open society in which people moved in and out, expressed their opinions freely. We are a democracy. The Jordanian experiment in socioeconomic and political development—it is meaningful and a beautiful experiment that probably has not been publicized as much as other experiments, probably because we never adhered to ideological rigidity or extremism.

As you know, we have always expressed our opinions quietly, in a decent and a dignified manner. Our monarch, King Husayn, is very well known to every one of you. He has set the tone and the style of the politics of Jordan following in the footsteps of his grandfather. We aim to make of this peace conference a real peace conference, not a debating society where one side tries to win and score points over the other side.

I think that will be enough for an opening statement, and now I would like to receive some questions, if you have any.

[Reporter] Mr. Abu-Jabir, is the king of Jordan ready to make full peace with Israel, including normalized relations on the basis of the pattern of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty?

[Abu-Jabir] Well, peace to us means peace, sir. And peace means that eventually when our Arab rights are addressed, when our grievances are addressed, and when the conditions for peace are met, I think Jordan is ready and willing to make peace.

[Reporter] You are on live on the Israeli Radio. I want to ask you, please, have you got to be sending any message for the Israeli people? And secondly, would you be willing to go to Tel Aviv or Jerusalem to negotiate with the Israelis?

[Abu-Jabir] I think this is a question of a procedure. And we are talking about substance, sir. We have issues that are very difficult issues, to put it mildly. We are talking about issues that have been in the hearts of men, and in the minds of men. We are talking about rigid ideologies. We are talking about hatreds, we are talking about a struggle that has lasted for at least 100 years, six or seven wars, a lot of atrocities, so the idea whether we go here or there, I think it is a matter of procedure. It is not a substantive matter.

[Reporter] Professor Abu-Jabir, I am Aharon Barne'a from Second Channel, Israeli Television. You said that your country was always moderate and rational. This opening session of this peace conference will be ending on Friday, and the next step will be the bilateral negotiations between Israel and the various Arab parts. Would your country as a moderate and a rational country traditionally agree to the Israeli offer that the next stage of the negotiations, which is the bilateral negotiations, will take place both in Israel and in Amman?

[Abu-Jabir] Again, sir, that is a procedural question. We are talking about very important issues. We are talking about land for peace. We are talking about the rights of the Palestinian people. We are talking about the significance and the symbolism of Jerusalem. Going to this spot or to that spot, I think, is something that is too premature at this moment to look into.

[Reporter] Mr. Foreign Minister, Allen Freeman, Education News Service. President Bush in his speech this morning stressed three points: That there has to be a real peace, not just an absence of war. Number two, that peace has to be based on security. And three, that there has to be direct negotiations between the participants. Do you agree with all three points? Did you...?

[Abu-Jabir, interrupting] The mere fact that we are sitting here, sir, in Madrid is an indication, I think, that we do agree to these. We want security. But, I mean, everybody forgets that we in Jordan, and we in Syria, the Palestinian people are screaming for security. Now, let us look at the balance of power in the Middle East, gentlemen, ladies and gentlemen. I mean, who should ask for security. We are the ones who are asking for it. We do not have 300 atomic or nuclear weapons. You know the recent book by Mr. Seymour Hersh, *The Samson Option*. We demand security because we are afraid, too.

[Reporter] Before inaugurating this conference, Israel announced that its intentions of wanting to establish more settlements was made, and what is your opinion on this announcement that Israel has made since they have been settling there for a long time. And another question is: How you value President Bush's speech and Mr. Musa's speech? The Israeli announcement is expressing their will or desire to expand that. This has to deal with will, and President Bush this morning said that he would like all the participants in the process not to do anything to put obstacles in the path of this process. We also would like the entire world, as well as the EEC, to compare Israel's actions and help.

[Abu-Jabir] Mr. Yasir 'Arafat is the president of the Palestinian state that has been agreed to and recognized by the vast majority of the states in the world, and the Palestinian people honor him and respect him and take him as their leader, and I have no place to ask the Palestinian people, and I do not think it is the right of anybody to ask the Palestinian people to question their right to choose their own leadership.

[Reporter] Well, has he coordinated your delegation? You're in a joint delegation today. Has he coordinated the Palestinians in your delegation?

[Abu-Jabir] Has he, Mr. 'Arafat, not with me. But I suppose Mr. 'Arafat visits Jordan, as you know, quite frequently, and in fact really a lot of Palestinians from the PLO and from without the PLO reside in Amman. So, the Palestinian people or a great number of Palestinian people are Jordanian citizens, and so, we respect their opinions, we respect their rights, we respect their freedom to move and to express their opinions in any manner or form that they see fit to do so.

[Reporter] Do you think that the multilateral talks will depend on progress of bilateral talks?

[Abu-Jabir] I did not say that. Jordan did not say that.

[Reporter] What do you think?

[Abu-Jabir] I think that Jordan has said, and his majesty expressed it in his speech of October 12 when he said that Jordan enters this peace process full-fledged.

[Reporter] Sir, how does Jordan view President Bush's statement this morning for territorial concession?

[Abu-Jabir] I thought that it was a good speech. There were a lot of positive elements in it which we respect. There were some things that we would have liked to see in the speech, but they were not there. But I think there were also by implications. But on the whole, I think the spirit and the substances of the speech was in the right direction, and we have to...look, this is a long and tedious process. It is not going to be resolved by one speech or two speeches. I look at the substance, of the whole substance of the American policy, the whole substance of the Egyptian policy, etc. one speech, one statement at some conference, it is not going to solve the problem. On the whole, I think, it is very positive.

[Reporter] Do you think that he was calling on the Arabs to compromise territories?

[Abu-Jabir] I think that he called on all parties to reach a mode of compromise. I think that we need to study the speech. I read it two or three times during the day, and I plan to read it some more, but there are many elements that need to be discussed and thought out very carefully.

[Reporter] You just said that you came here to Madrid with an open heart. I believe you are going to see, to meet Prime Minister Shamir tomorrow. Are you going to shake his hand? What are you going to say to him?

[Abu-Jabir, laughing] Everybody is so obssessed with the idea of shaking hands. I mean, you know there are a million of people in the world I don't shake hands with. [laughter] Really, it is again a procedural matter. It is a formality. I think in time, madam, in time and in place and under the proper circumstances when things fall in place, when we reach a settlement, when our rights are recognized, when the Palestinian people are recognized and their self-determination, when Jerusalem, Arab Jerusalem is returned to Arab sovereignty, when all of these things happen....

[Reporter, interrupting] Open heart, the Jordanian open heart.

[Abu-Jabir] And by open heart only to shake hands. [laughter]

[Reporter] President Bush himself didn't mention anything himself relating to the issue of settlements, and the implementation of Resolutions 242 and 338 while the Jordanian position is clear toward this issue. The same thing was mentioned by the European Community troika foreign minister during his speech. What do you think of that, the conflict....

[Abu-Jabir, interrupting] Like I said, sir, the speech on the whole, the spirit and the thrust of the speech was positive. Of course, I would have liked to see other things in it. In fact, I wish I wrote it myself for Mr. Bush to read, or had some Jordanian write it, or some Palestinian write it. But then that will be asking too much. The thrust of it, he did mention 242 and 338. Of course, he did not mention the idea of land for peace. He did not mention the rights of the Palestinian people. He did not mention Jerusalem. But he mentioned 242 and 338, and I think that while I may question that this is enough, or not enough, I think the thrust of the speech is in the right direction, and we should follow suit, or follow up on that.

[Reporter] Dr. Abu-Jabir, here.

[Abu-Jabir] Where are you?

[Reporter] Over here in this corner, over here.

[Abu-Jabir] I can't see you.

[Reporter] On your left-hand side.

[Abu-Jabir] On my left-hand side, good.

[Reporter] Right here. Joel Greenberg from THE JERUSALEM POST. I would like to ask you if the concept of territorial compromise applies to the Arab side as well?

[Abu-Jabir] Whose land is occupied, sir? Syrian land are occupied, the Golan Heights. Lebanese lands are occupied. Palestinian lands are occupied, and indeed, Jordanian land. So, I mean what are we supposed to compromise, more land?

[Reporter] Sir, you are interested in the substance of negotiations. Could I say in regard to your last question that the majority in the Israel Government have decided to come to this peace conference, but on the matter of the substance of negotiations, since there is a common water problem between Jordan and Israel, could you not then envisage the possibility of immediately starting discussions with Israel on the matter of the allocation of these waters which is extremely important for the future of both countries?

[Abu Jabir] Sir, take security, for instance, who should feel more secure—us or the Israelis? Put that question in your hearts and ask that question. Tell me, any one of you, where the borders of Israel are? And who should feel insecure about that? Water, for instance, who is taking more water than who? Talking about settlements, we're talking, we're coming to Madrid to talk peace, and yet the Israeli Government announces it augments settlements and will go into a process of more settlements. Now, I don't know, this is something that you have to address to yourselves, to your hearts, to your consciences, to your god, to your beliefs. I think really once again, I like to solicit your help as a human being; I am not a belligerent man, I am a peaceful man. I am a professor by nature, I am a father of children. I like to raise my children in an atmosphere that is healthy. I like to see my Palestinian brothers, also they have children, should get out of the refugee camps. They should put shoes on their feet. They should eat the decent meal like American children do, like French children do, like Danish children do, like German children do. We are hoping for all of these things, but we can't do it if we go constantly into this kind of....[changes thought]

Like I said, I started my statement to you, I didn't come here to win or to score points. I came here, and my government came here, with the attitude of trying to reach a peaceful settlement. That is honorable. I want a settlement that I can live, that when I look in the mirror I am not ashamed of myself, that when my daughter asks me or my grandchild asks I can tell him: Look, I took the risk, I put my heart in my hand to make peace, I took the risk for peace because it does take courage to make peace. But we can't do it alone. The other side must reciprocate. If you don't convince the other side.... [satellite transmission ends abruptly]

Jordanian Spokesman

JN3010204791 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1904 GMT 30 Oct 91

[News conference by Dr. Marwan al-Mu'ashshir, spokesman of the Jordanian side to the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Madrid peace conference in Madrid on 30 October in English—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] [passage indistinct]

[Al-Mu'ashshir] We have come to Madrid with a positive spirit and open minds. We seek a comprehensive and lasting peace among all countries in the region, one that goes beyond a state of nonbelligerency and the absence of war. We hope that all parties will approach the conference with an attitude of resolving the Arab- Israeli conflict and finally achieving peace that has evaded the region for too long. In the words of His Majesty King Husayn: Peace demands no less courage than war. It is the courage to meet the adversary, his attitudes and arguments, the courage to face hardships, the courage to bury senseless illusions, the courage to surmount impeding obstacles, the courage to engage in a dialogue, to tear down the walls of fears and suspicion. It is the courage to face reality.

I will respond to your questions. Please.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] pulling out of the occupied territory?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Well, the Israeli prime minister can say what he wants. We feel that settlement, a fair settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict results when Israel withdraws from the Arab territories it occupied in 1967. As President Bush said this morning, without fairness there can be no legitimacy. And we feel that President Bush's speech of March 6 constitutes a good basis to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338, and on the basis of exchanging territory for peace, and giving the Palestinians their legitimate political rights.

[Reporter] [Indistinct words in Arabic]

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Well, I'll translate. That is all? The question is about the commitments made by President Bush and President Gorbachev regarding the peace process. Again, as I said, we feel that President Bush's statement this morning, as well as his earlier statements, constitutes a very good basis to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. And the President acknowledged that there has to be territorial compromise, and there has to be a resolution based on giving Palestinians their political rights. Please.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] territorial compromises?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] What you mean by territorial compromise is, yes, the Jordanian side's interpretation of territorial compromise. It is UN Resolutions 242 and 338, which this conference is based upon. And they call for Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories, including East Jerusalem.

[Reporter] I am representing the Israeli Radio. If Israel withdraws from territories, would you be willing to have full normalization with Israel? And the second question: Is the coordination between the Jordanians and the Palestinians is full, or are there two different delegations under one men [sentence as heard]?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Responding to your first question, as I said earlier, we are not seeking a state of nonbelligerency. Of course, what we are....[changes thought] when we talk about peace, we talk about full peace. But that peace cannot be achieved overnight. And it has to go through a long process of resolving all parts of the conflict. And once that is resolved, the peace we are seeking is full peace and full cooperation. With regard to your second question, yes, there is full coordination between the Jordanian and the Palestinian sides of the delegation. Of course, there are issues that are largely Palestinian issues and will be handled by the Palestinian side of the delegation. We are not negotiating over the exchange of land for peace. This is, for example, an issue that the Palestinians in the delegation will negotiate with our support. But there is full coordination.

[Reporter] President Bush has renewed his call for all parties to apply confidence-building measures. Is there anything the Jordanians can do on that? And was this discussed this morning in the meeting that your delegation had with President Bush?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Of course, all along the way, there will have to be certain confidence-building measures. I would not try to comment on them now. But as I said, peace will not be achieved at once. And we have to go at it step by step. But what we are seeking in the end will be a permanent and comprehensive one.

[Reporter] Regarding your economic boycotts, are there going to be any measures of relinquishing these economic boycotts, and secondly, in all wars of aggression such as Germany, France, Poland et cetera, there were always territory concessions. Are there going to be concessions on the Arab part regarding territory issues pertinent to this peace conference?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Well, I would not like to comment on specific measures that will be taken in the future as far as concessions on part of territory. You know we have claim over Israeli territory that was occupied. We have not occupied any Israeli territory so we can give it back to the Israelis.

[Reporter] Let me follow up that question, please. Let me follow up with that question [words indistinct] National Religious Broadcasters of America. As religious broadcasters, we hold to a biblical position on this land, of course. If you hold to a biblical position on the land of Israel, then it is very difficult not to see aggression on your part, and concessions being made on your part also?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Well, we look at the legal interpretation of the matter. If you go into religion, then there are all kinds of claims, religious claims, on the territory. You have to abide by the legal claim, and there is UN Resolution 242, which clearly calls for the withdrawal of all Israeli troops from east Jerusalem and the occupied territories.

[Reporter] Concerning bilateral negotiations, can you confirm they will start on Friday, and how long will they take?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Well, they will certainly not start on Friday. Their scheduled start, I think, is Sunday, and as I said, the conference is based on a plenary session followed by bilateral negotiations, and that position has not changed, and we hope that when the time comes for bilateral negotiations, all parties will come.

[Reporter] [words indistinct]

[Al-Mu'ashshir] I do not want to go into any specifics. But I want to say that settlements remain not just an obstacle to peace, but illegal, and we feel that unless the settlement issue is resolved and unless there is a freeze on all existing and new settlements, this will be really a very difficult start unless settlements are frozen, and any peaceful settlement is going to be meaningless if facts on the ground are changing every day.

In response to your second question. Of course, there will be stops and starts by all delegations all the time. That does not mean that if a delegation stops at one point that necessarily the other delegation will stop. We will expect stops and starts all the time. But in the end we will see a comprehensive peace settlement.

[Reporter] President Bush said there should be negotiations between the Arab states and Israel and between the Palestinians and Israel. Do you think these negotiations can be by the actual Palestinian-Jordanian commission, or would you insist again that PLO should be the representative?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] Well, the peace conference has two tracks, as indicated in the letter of invitation and in the terms of reference for the conference. There is an Arab-Israeli track and then there is a Palestinian-Israeli track, and President Bush referred this morning to the Palestinian-Israeli track when he spoke about negotiations for an interim period that hopefully will be concluded within one year to be followed by a transitional period of five years. After the end of the second year of the transitional period, then negotiations with the Palestinian team will start over the final arrangements of the West [Bank] and Gaza. We feel this is a Palestinian issue and that the Palestinians are responsible for the negotiations and for reaching a peace settlement on the question of land and on the question of the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. We will give them every support and coordination possible, but this will be largely conducted by the Palestinian part of the delegation.

[Reporter] President Bush has mentioned a meaningful control for the Palestinians as a necessity. How do you understand this? Does it sound like autonomy or more [word indistinct] independent state to you?

[Al-Mu'ashshir] We understand it as giving Palestinians their full legitimate political rights the way they see it, and we are prepared to accept whatever the Palestinians will accept.

Additional Remarks

JN3010171891 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1613 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] In statements to journalists following the opening session, Dr. Marwan al-Mu'ashshir, official spokesman for the Jordanian delegation to the peace conference said: We came to the conference with a positive spirit and an open mind. We are searching for a lasting and comprehensive settlement for all states in the region which would achieve the peace that has been absent from the region for a long time. What we want is a settlement that is based on Israel's withdrawal from the territories it occupied in 1967 in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 242, as well as granting the Palestinian people their legitimate rights.

Dr. al-Mu'ashshir said President Bush's speech today to the conference was balanced and good, and that the principles he stated constitute a good basis for the solution.

He said there is full coordination with the Palestinian delegation, but, he added, there are certain points which the Palestinian delegation will raise during the negotiations.

He added: We need a legal interpretation for UN Resolution 242, which explicitly calls for withdrawal from the occupied territories, including Arab Jerusalem. He asserted that Jordan wants a comprehensive peace.

Dr. al-Mu'ashshir said the bilateral talks are expected to start on Monday. He said he hopes everybody will participate in them.

Dr. al-Mu'ashshir stressed that the settlements are an obstacle to peace, and that they must be frozen because they constitute a difficult start to the negotiations.

He said: We accept whatever the Palestinians accept during the negotiations. There may be participants from Jordan in the Palestinian-Israeli talks, but the final decision will be for the Palestinian side.

He said: Jerusalem has a special status, not only for us, but also for the entire world. Negotiations over the city will be done through the Palestinian delegation.

He pointed out that the talks will deal with the Jordanian territories which Israel occupied in Wadi al-'Arabah and the Yarmuk River area. He said that the Arab states have recognized Israel since the acceptance of Resolution 242. Since 1967, he added, Arab states became committed to a peaceful settlement.

A number of members of the Steering Committee and the Palestinian side in the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation have stressed their genuine desire to achieve a just and comprehensive peace and settle the Palestinian question in accordance with international legitimacy.

Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian side; Faysal al-Husayni and Hanan 'Ashrawi, members of the Steering Committee; and Radwan Abu-'Ayyash, member of the Advisory Committee, told the JORDANIAN NEWS AGENCY that U.S. President George Bush's speech at the peace conference opening session confirms U.S. recognition of the principle of the inadmissibility, and rejection, of the occupation of others' territories.

Syria's al-Shar' on Bush Speech

JN3010221091 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 2115 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Madrid—Commenting on President Bush's speech and in reply to questions posed by reporters in this regard, Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' said: We feel that the U.S. Administration's determination to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East is still strong. In response to a question on President Bush's failure to include the ideas and principles contained in the initiative he announced to Congress in March regarding land for peace in his speech to the peace conference today, al-Shar' said: The failure to include these ideas in the speech does not signal a U.S. retreat, because there are U.S. assurances given to Syria through a letter of assurances and also through a letter President Bush sent to His Excellency President Hafiz al-Asad clearly affirming the implementation of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace. We do not expect any retreat.

The foreign minister added that President Bush affirmed, during his meeting with him in Madrid this morning, the U.S. Administration's adherence to the implementation of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 and also land for peace.

When queried further on the disparity of views regarding the start of the second phase of talks, the foreign minister said: Israel is attempting to obstruct and torpedo the peace conference by raising the issue of the venue of talks. He added: There was a unanimous view prior to convening the conference that the talks will continue in Madrid. Concluding his statement, al-Shar' said: Syria is seriously determined to work to achieve a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' held a meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin at the Conferences Palace in Madrid this evening. During the meeting, they discussed issues related to the peace conference, which began its work in the Spanish capital this morning. At the conclusion of the meeting, Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin made a statement to reporters affirming that the best venue for holding bilateral meetings and talks is the very place in which the peace conference was held—namely, Madrid. He added that he discussed with Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' topics related to the peace process and its various phases. He went on to say that fixing a venue for the second phase of talks is still under consideration.

At 1800 today, al-Shar' met with Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. During the meeting, they discussed issues related to the peace conference being hosted by Spain. The Madrid Middle East peace conference will resume its work tomorrow morning. Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' is scheduled to deliver Syria's speech before the conference tomorrow at 1815, Damascus time. The speeches of the remaining delegations, which did not deliver their speeches during the two sessions today, will also be delivered tomorrow, the second day of the conference.

Netanyahu 30 Oct Briefing

TA3010191891

[Editorial Report] Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew at 1633 GMT on 30 October carries a live broadcast of Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's 30-minute briefing to foreign news correspondents and subsequent question and answer session at the media center in Madrid. Netanyahu speaks in English while the correspondents' questions are in English, Arabic, and Spanish. IDF Radio provides a continuous superimposed Hebrew translation which renders lengthy portions of Netanyahu's statements indistinct.

Netanyahu begins by praising the speech made earlier by President Bush, noting that "we all gathered here" for the "achievement of real peace. That is not just not the removal of the state of war, or the achievement of what we call nonbelligerency, but the attainment of formal contractual peace, which includes, of course, peace treaties. The second principle that was enunciated very clearly by President Bush was that peace in the Middle East, this peace that we are seeking, must be a peace based on security." Netanyahu notes that "we cannot have peace without security because the peace will not hold. We have always argued precisely this, that an Israel with indefensible boundaries could neither defend itself nor defend the peace."

Netanyahu notes that the third principle in Bush's speech was that the method of achieving the goal is "direct negotiations between the parties, not the imposition of settlements by outside parties." Netanyahu asserts that, in Israel's opinion, "the best way to move forward toward this mechanism, toward direct negotiations, is to have talks within the region." Netanyahu says that this is the best way to achieve trust between the parties, as this will show that we are all serious about peace.

Netanyahu then speaks of other historic conflicts that were peacefully resolved, such as between Germany and France. The deputy minister notes that we have also witnessed the end of the cold war, which ended "with finality when the dictatorship, the totalitarian regime in the Soviet bloc collapsed." In East Europe "we have one kind of peace," which requires "no defenses" because it stems from democracy. Netanyahu goes on to say that Israel has "no pluralistic governments with real parliaments" to negotiate with in the Middle East and that the lack of human rights in the Arab countries precludes a European style of peace and necessitates a peace accompanied by security.

Netanyahu claims that "Israel, which has already ceded a full 91 percent of the territory that we took in a war of self defense," cannot put the rest of Israel in danger and sacrifice its security margins. He does not expect the Arab delegations to accept Israel's positions, but notes that direct talks could be "a promising beginning."

Asked for his reaction to President Bush's call for territorial concession and whether he would agree to a temporary freeze on settlements, Netanyahu replies that President Bush spoke of "a compromise on both sides" and that according to his interpretation Israel has already given up 95 percent of its territory and should not be forced to give up 100 percent without any concessions from the other side.

When asked whether he would agree to a temporary freeze in settlement activity, Netanyahu responds that "the settlements are part of the territorial issue," adding that "it is an object that will be placed on the negotiating table." Asking Israel to cease settlements as a precondition "goes against the central tenet" of the agreements prior to the conference, Netanyahu remarks.

The deputy foreign minister is asked whether Israel would be willing to put the question of its borders with its Arab neighbors to a national referendum. He replies that Israel's citizens conduct a national referendum every four years by holding democratic elections. As for the status of the residents of the territories, this will be decided in the negotiations. A permanent arrangement will be reached after a five-year interim period. Netanyahu calls for free elections in the territories so Israel could negotiate with the authentic representatives of the Palestinian people.

Asked how Israel can trust the United States to guarantee the lives of Israeli citizens when it does not care for those of Americans killed in the 1988 Pan Am bombing, Netanyahu says that "it is not the idea that the United States will vouch for Israel's security," while noting that President Bush "enunciated the principle of security," which "is to defend a country as small as Israel that could be traversed today, in a day's walk, I am sorry, in half a day's walk" and that is why security assurances are so important.

The deputy foreign minister is asked about Israel's positions on direct negotiations as opposed to multilateral gatherings and on the water issue. Netanyahu reasserts that it was agreed before the conference that "once we get beyond the ceremonial opening we will have direct negotiations between the various parties." Netanyahu adds that it was agreed that "the addition of other parties to the negotiations would be by the consent of all the parties," opining that it is better to enter a real dialogue and leave the multilateral gatherings behind. As for the importance of water, Netanyahu notes the difference between the Golan Heights, with its plentiful water resources, and the arid Sinai Desert. Israel's water supply could be placed at great risk if it ceded control of the Golan Heights. Netanyahu says that the water issue, a problem shared by several parties, is a classic matter for the multilateral talks.

When asked what Israel would like to see happen during this conference, Netanyahu says that Israel "would like to quickly decide on the venue and on the time" for the second stage of the talks. He notes that "quite intensive discussions are going on below the surface" on these issues and that he hopes the issue will be resolved in Madrid. Netanyahu again reiterates Israel's desire that the second stage of the talks be held in the Middle East, as this has been historically proven to work and will show the peoples of the Middle East that peace is achievable. This would show that the Arabs are serious about peace, Netanyahu says.

Netanyahu is asked whether Shamir has invited the regional leaders to Jerusalem to discuss the problems and is asked to explain Israel's acquisition of the territories during the Six-Day War. Netanyahu asserts that Shamir has invited these rulers on several opportunities and that "that invitation remains standing." Responding to the second question about Israel's occupation of the territories, the deputy foreign minister then points to "a fantastic case of historical amnesia," noting that "it is widely believed in many quarters that it is Israel that first entered those territories with no provocation, taking the territory from innocent holders, whereas it was exactly the other way around." Netanyahu says that the Arabs commenced the aggression against Israel, recounting the formidable coalition that formed to annihilate Israel without any provocation, before there was one Israeli soldier in the territories, and concluding that "peace must be based on truth."

When asked if Israel would change its position regarding the establishment of a Palestinian state were such a state to become a democratic entity, Netanyahu says he "would welcome any efforts toward democratization in the Arab world," because it would pave the way toward peace; however, peace and democracy are incompatible with the idea of terror. Therefore, Netanyahu says that he expects to hear the Palestinian delegation issue an unequivocal condemnation of the recent terror attacks in Israel and put an end to "the intramural slaughter " among the Palestinians, "which evokes no protests from any Arab country." Netanyahu concludes by saying that the Palestinians will only be truly represented when they put away the gun of Palestinian terror.

Egyptian Spokesman Briefs Media

NC3010184291 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1745 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Madrid, 30 Oct, (MENA)—Naji al-Ghatrifi, official spokesman for the Egyptian delegation to the peace conference, held a news conference this afternoon.

Asked if a decision has been made regarding the bilateral negotiations and whether Cairo could be a venue for such talks, the spokesman stated that the conference has given the peace process important momentum and resulted in new ideas. He added: There are various views concerning the bilateral talks. One group prefers that they continue to be held in Madrid, while the other group believes they should be held somewhere else. Al-Ghatrifi added that he believes no decision will be made on this for at least two days.

An Israeli radio correspondent asked a question about the speech delivered by 'Amr Musa, Egyptian foreign minister and chief delegate to the conference, saying that it contained no mention of the PLO or the bilateral talks. The official spokesman said: We are talking about the Palestinian people, their rights, and who will be in charge of obtaining these rights. This is a matter that concerns the Palestinians, who have already chosen their representatives to the conference. It is not my concern to talk about other matters, because there is a delegation representing the Palestinian people that is authorized to propose the appropriate solutions for their problems. The delegation members will express their views on how the Palestinians believe these problems can be solved.

Al-Ghatrifi then answered a question on whether Musa's reference to the Camp David accord as a model for future peace agreements implies a proposal that the Arab parties visit Israel and hold direct negotiations the way President al-Sadat did in 1977. The official spokesman said: In 1977 there was no other option to reach peace between the Arabs and Israel. Thus, this step was made and it was necessary. It was a shortcut toward solving the dispute. Urging the others to follow our suit is not something for us to do. They should choose the path that could lead them to their targets. The peace process has begun and each party has its own views and looks toward solutions differently.

Asked about Egypt's role in the coming phase of negotiations, al-Ghatrifi said he believes Egypt's role will remain the same. All the parties taking part in the conference believe that Egypt's steps were wise. Egypt, he added, is holding negotiations and talks with all parties and they all have confidence in Egypt's good intentions. We are seeking comprehensive peace based on justice and we expect to be present in all the peace phases, particularly those in which Egypt's presence is required and its experience in the peace process could be beneficial.

Asked about the significance of U.S. President George Bush's meeting today with Musa, the official spokesman said: Egypt has informed the U.S. President of its appreciation for the constructive U.S. efforts to convene the peace conference. Egypt expressed the hope that the United States will continue to play this constructive role, to keep its channels open to all parties, and to insist on the importance of achieving peace in this part of the world.

Al-Ghatrifi said Cairo is ready to host any bilateral peace talks but that this is up to the parties to decide.

Al-Ghatrifi said U.S. President Bush's speech was inaugural on an important and historic occasion, but it was not a traditional speech as it was meaningful and laid out steps that must be taken toward peace. Egypt welcomes this speech.

On Egypt's stand on establishing settlements in the occupied territories, al-Ghatrifi said our stand on settlements is known and firm. Negotiations should take place on land and peace. The Arabs have every intention to achieve a just and comprehensive peace on all fronts.

On whether Egypt will persuade Syria to enter into negotiations and what Egypt's stand will be if Israel agrees to withdraw politically and militarily from the Golan Heights, provided the settlements remain under Syrian control, al-Ghatrifi said this question is too theoretical. Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights is a theoretical matter. We support the same criteria applied in Sinai, such as restoration of the occupied territory in the same manner that took place between Egypt and Israel in Sinai. This is premature, however. I do not believe the Syrians object to multilateral talks. If I allow myself to speak on the Syrians' behalf, it is impossible to begin negotiations on cooperation in regional matters, such as water shortages and pollution, if the issue of sovereignty is still in dispute. This means jumping over an issue before the right time.

Al-Ghatrifi said everything is negotiable as long as there is goodwill. We will see a lot of give and take.

Concluding, al-Ghatrifi expressed the hope that the U.S. stands will develop in support of the Palestinians because they are weak and deprived and their lands have been taken from them. As the peace process continues, the United States does not want to impose a solution. The concerned parties must reach the appropriate solutions.

Abu-Jabir's 31 Oct News Conference

JN3110124491 Amman Jordan Television Network in English 1200 GMT 31 Oct 91

[News conference by Jordanian Foreign Minister Dr. Kamil Abu-Jabir with unidentified international reporters in Madrid on 31 October—recorded]

[Text] [Abu-Jabir, in progress] ...of the Palestinians and their legitimate rights. Again, what are we talking about? What are we supposed to be doing here in Madrid? If we can't talk about territory, if we can't talk about a vision of the future of peace, if we cannot talk about Jerusalem, if we cannot talk about withdrawal, what on earth are we supposed to be doing here in Madrid? Please, understand that and I like you to really appreciate it.

And then finally, which is real, really I would like to know, and I want anyone of you, or anybody in Madrid, or anywhere on the face of this earth—where are the borders of Israel? I didn't hear anything today in that regard [words indistinct]. I was really sad as I was listening, because I had hoped that after 40 years of suffering on both sides, after seven wars, that there will be some...[changes thought] new tone, new vision, new ideas presented, not to repeat the old cliches over and over again. I mean, you know, are we prophets here talking in absolute terms, or are we mere human beings exchanging ideas, trying to reach a compromise, a peaceful settlement, something that we and our children can live with. I think this enough for the time being. And I will listen to your questions now if you have any. Yes, sir.

[Reporter] Mr. Foreign Minister, Mr. Shamir has extended an invitation to the Arab world, or the Arab countries' leaders, to conduct talks or visit Tel Aviv or Jerusalem for talks. In light of all of the things which are happening in the last 72 hours, escalating the settlement policies and activities, and coming with a speech which is devoid of any initiative in my point of view, which could really mitigate the circumstances that you could see hopeful signs of readiness on his part, to enter into peace dialogue with the Palestinians, the Jordanians, and the rest of the Arab world, what do you see the future (?evolves) with the presence of Mr. Shamir heading the Israeli Government, and almost closing the door on peace negotiations with the rest of the Arab world?

[Abu-Jabir] Well, first of all, of course it is for the Israelis to decide who is their leader and who leads them. And like I said in my talk, there is a sizable number of Israelis who are for peace, and who have a vision of a peaceful future. But that is their business to decide who rules over them. And I hope that the Israeli Government and the Israeli leaders will start treating the Palestinian leadership in the same manner. I think it is really amazing, maybe the first time in history, that protagonists choose the other side that they will talk to. I say, like the Germans choosing which French side they should talk to, or the Americans choosing the Vietnamese side that they would like to talk to, etc.

The second point is this matter of moving the venue from Madrid to somewhere in the Middle East. Number one, I think it is a procedural matter; it does not touch the heart of the matter. It is not substantive. Number two, the danger of disrupting the whole momentum of the conference and killing its spirit is there, by moving it right now. Number three, I think it is premature. I mean, this is the first time in 40 years that the whole Arab world sits with Israel in one room. And I think it is premature to start thinking about.... [changes thought] Are we trying to prove points, and to prove the other side wrong or right, or are we trying to reach a settlement; a modicum of mutual peace, mutual respect, et cetera? That is my answer, sir.

[Reporter] Minister, Mr. Shamir said early this morning that he will like to move the conversations to Israel. What do you think about to talk face-to-face in Israel?

[Abu-Jabir] Well again, my answer is like I just answered the gentleman. I think it is premature. The danger of its disrupting the whole momentum of the conference is there. And thirdly, we would like.... [Abu-Jabir changes thought] Why do we always have to agree to everything that Israel wants. I mean, we do have an opinion too. They choose which Palestinians they want to talk to. They choose the place, they choose the issues, they exclude certain issues, they put preconditions. I mean, you know, I think all of you should start creating the kind of atmosphere that is different. I think it is for you to think about too. Why should we agree always to what Israel thinks? We think here, I think that the momentum of Madrid is good, the spirit of Madrid is good. And I think it is better to keep it here.

[Reporter] Professor Abu-Jabir, Nazir Mujalli of the Haifa paper AL-ITTIHAD. My question is this: Do you think that Shamir has begun the negotiations with the Arabs using the right leg, as it is said. In other words, will the next round of talks be guaranteed after Mr. Shamir's speech?

[Abu-Jabir] Well, we came here with idea of listening to each other. We made our statement. They made a statement. The Egyptians made a statement. The Americans, the Russians, etcetera. So now we will see where we will go from there. I do not think this is the end of the matter. We are just in the bare, bare, bare beginnings. So we will have to wait and see.

[Reporter] In [words indistinct] step already when [words indistinct] first minister Yitzhaq Shamir said already that Israel people should go to the neighbor countries in order to talk. Should you go to Israel also to talk if they go to the neighbors countries?

[Abu-Jabir] I answered that question already three times. Why are we so.... [Abu-Jabir changes thought] Why do not we talk about substantive matters? Why are we distracted by this issue of shaking hands and going to Israel to talk—why we do not we talk about withdrawal? Why don't we talk about Palestinian rights? Why don't we talk about the holy city of Jerusalem? Why don't we talk.... [Abu-Jabir changes thought] These are the matters that really can make peace or break peace. Whether I sit in Madrid or in London, I mean Madrid is lovely city. I love Madrid. Why do not we stay here? The atmosphere is excellent, food is good, the Spanish people are hospitable, we love them, they have a long history with the Jews, they have a long history with the Arabs. It is a meeting place. I mean why do we have to go around moving, for God's sake.

[Reporter] Minister, but all right, we can talk about that, but there are three steps in the beginning. So we can talk also about the Palestinian people, but I think it is very important for us also to know what happen with that invitation of Yitzhaq Shamir, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir?

[Abu-Jabir] We took his point of view. We understood what he said. And now we are saying what we said, and then we will see where we go from here. Do I have any other questions? Yes, sir.

[Reporter] Mr. Abu-Jabir, are you intending to meet your Syrian homologue in order to coordinate your future steps before the beginning of the real negotiations?

[Abu-Jabir] Yes, I hope so. And we did have some talk with our friends, the Syrians, and also with the Palestinians and the Lebanese, and also the Egyptians. And we are planning to coordinate and to see if we can develop some common ideas and common stands. And we, in fact, have. We are all in agreement about the aims. There may be some ideas about how to get to the aims, but, basically, the agreement is there.

[Reporter] Dr. Abu-Jabir, you seem to have come to a peace conference, but you do not seem to be talking to each other, I mean the Arab side and the Israeli side. Each one gives his statement and makes sure what his positions are, but we have not seen, up to this moment, any conversation between the two sides that have to negotiate peace. Mr. Shamir, at the end of his speech, said today let us leave everything behind that had happened in the past and try to move forward. Is that any clue for you that maybe you, gentlemen, should start to talk to each other?

['Abu-Jabir] If you remember, I tried in a May talk to outline a vision of the future, in which....[changes thought] I said and I emphasize time and again, we came here to reach a peaceful settlement, an honorable one, a durable one with which I and my children, and anybody in the region and their children, can live with peacefully. What I heard from the other side, from Mr. Shamir, is a historical review that was not totally accurate; it is his own interpretation of history.

Look, I realize, I sympathize with the traumatized people of the region. The Jews have been traumatized, there is no question about that. But I did not make it, I as an Arab. I did not cause the trauma of the Jewish people. Also, we are traumatized. What about the tens of thousands of refugees in their camps? Who is keeping them in their camps? Why can't Israel give them the right to return, for instance. I mean, Mr. Shamir today spoke about that. Why can't he give them the right of return. So, look, this is a conflict that has been going on for a hundred years, literally, almost—from the Basle first Zionist congress. It has already gone through six or seven wars and tens of thousands of violent acts, hundreds of thousands of violent acts, and verbal violence, mental violence, and physical violence. You do not expect that everything is going to be peaceful and lovely within a matter of one day. Give us time. Give peace a chance, please give peace a chance. And I implore you again—I implored you yesterday and I implore you now—please give peace a chance. If there is any victory, let it be for peace, let us not try to score points on each other.

I did not come here to prove anybody wrong. I came here to protect my people, the use of my people. Like I said yesterday, I like to see Palestinian children, Jordanian children, Syrian children eating good cheese like Danish children eat good cheese, like French children eat good bread, like German children eat good cheese, et cetera. This is what I came for. I did not come to fight a war.

[Reporter] Dr. Abu-Jabir, this is 'Ali from ABC. I would like to ask you what effects so far meeting between the Palestinians, and the Israelis, and the Jordanians had on the psychological barrier between Israel? Do you feel now it is easier to speak to the Israelis, I mean you see them face to face? Is there any change in the mood?

[Abu-Jabir] Look, the Jews are not alien to us, they are our cousins, for God's sake. I mean, we are the children of Abraham too, not just the Jews. We are Semitic; we are the only Semitic people left on the face of this earth, we and the Jews, and probably some other smaller [groups]. The Jews have always lived with us. The Jews prospered when Arab civilization prospered, when Islamic civilization prospered. The greatest Jewish minds spoke and wrote in Arabic, including Musa Bin-Maymun. He wrote also in Hebrew too. We respect that, and Musa Bin-Maymun for our children is a hero. So, the Jews lived in Morocco, in Algeria, in Tunisia, in Egypt, in Syria, in the Lebanon, in Palestine.

Okay, so we had in recent time a misunderstanding. We are trying to mend it, and we cannot mend it by ourselves, we need your help. They and the Jews have been traumatized in the 20th century, you know that, you did it to them, you Westerners. I did not do it to them.

And then they turn around in their anger and their frustration and they lash back at us. I try to understand Mr. Shamir. I honest to God try. And I think every Arab tries. He has been traumatized, to put it mildly. But I need your help, I as an Arab and not just as a human being. We in the Arab world need you to understand that. We need these people to understand that their security is not in expansion, their security is not in aggression, their security only and it'll never come unless we accept their presence in the region. And we will not accept their presence in the region unless we reach a peaceful solution that is honorable to both sides. I say that to you as a human being not in the spirit of threat, but in the spirit of compromise. So, please help us make the Israelis feel that the security is in the heart, the security is in the mind.

They have—I read the book *The Samson Option*—hundreds of nuclear weapons and missiles and airplanes. But they are not secure and neither are we. So, if that should serve a lesson, it is that they should start looking for the security in something else.

[Reporter] Are you ready to do as the Palestinian council in recognizing the presence of the State of Israel and get granted secure borders?

[Abu-Jabir] I speak for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, but the Palestinians, as far as I know, in 1988 recognized Israel and Mr. 'Arafat has accepted the existence of Israel, and Mr. 'Arafat, I think, offered on two or three occasions he is willing to talk to anybody in Israel. So, president 'Arafat has extended his hand and the Palestinians here in this conference also are extending their hand. So, it is now for the other side to extend its hand.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, excuse me, you did not answer my question. I was asking you as represntative of Jordan, not as Palestinian. That's why I ask you if you were ready to act as the Palestinian council, being a represetative of Jordan.

[Abu-Jabir] Yes, we accept. Look, Jordan formulated—King Husayn himself as you know was consulted about the formulation and the wording of 242 in 1967 and since that time we have accepted 242 which also accepts the existence of Israel, meaning land for peace, meaning a territorial compromise, meaning the return of Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem, meaning the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination. We have accepted that. And in the Fes peace plan of 1982, the Arabs came forward and offered their own peace plan, based on 242, in which they said we accept the existence of Israel. Now the tables have turned. Now it seems to me, and you should think about that, it's now we are demanding that Israel recognize us.

[Reporter] Did Prime Minister Shamir, in your opinion, raise any obstacles that will prevent these talks from going ahead?

[Abu-Jabir] Well, when he omitted any mention of a territorial compromise, when he said that the issue is not territory but the existence, when he did not mention any legitimate rights for the Palestinian people, when he did not talk about Jerusalem, when most of his speech, almost 90 percent of it, was historical in its perspective rather than forward looking. I don't know if you consider that obstacles to peace. But then again I take that only as a first statement. I mean, this is positioning; we are all positioning ourselves, putting our ideas on the table, and I think it's time to look into the details after this.

[Reporter] Prime Minister Shamir has said that the insistence on the part of the Arabs to talk slowly about territories could lead to the failure of these talks, and right now you have mentioned, disappointed, that Shamir has omitted any mention to territory compromise. Then realistically how optimistic are you that this conference can lead to any progress?

[Abu-Jabir] Like I said, yes, and there I still say I'm cautiously optimistic, but I would like you to think about the veiled threat in Mr. Shamir's statement when he says that these talks can fail if the Arabs insist on territorial compromise. Now if we don't talk about territorial compromise, if we don't make any attempt to halt the settlements, if we continue to talk in the belligerent talk that we have been talking about in the last 40 years, what on earth are we doing here? I like you to think about the veiled threat. He is threatening, he is putting conditions, not me.

[Reporter, in Arabic] Mr. Abu-Jabir, if you please. The convocation of the conference is the biggest challenge. What is the next challenge?

[Abu-Jabir] Where are you from?

[Reporter] Egyptian Television.

[Abu-Jabir in Arabic with English voiceover] I think the next challenge is to reach a durable and fair peace. The next challenge is that we will be able to overcome our own selves and to look to the future, and this I direct to the other side, too, as well to ourselves.

[Reporter] [question indistinct]

[Abu-Jabir in Arabic with English voiceover] Yesterday I said, and the king said on the 12th October, that Jordan respects everything that is required for participating in this conference and we are going to speak at the proper time. First, we have to examine all aspects. We [words indistinct] to talk here but also to achieve something tangible.

[Reporter] Minister, I'm a bit disappointed at your disappointment towards Mr. Shamir's speech, and the question, Minister, is: Did you expect Mr. Shamir to propose territorial compromise in his speech while you, Minister, have presented the maximum demand of total Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 border, including East Jerusalem?

[Abu-Jabir] Yes, well you know I'm disappointed that you are disappointed that I'm disappointed. [laughter]

[Reporter] Let it be my turn to be disappointed.

[Abu-Jabir] But look, before I came to this conference, I went to the Israeli, Syrian, Jordanian border, and honestly with my bare hand I can throw a stone across and hit probably an Israeli and vice versa. So, we are talking about a small space of land and if we don't learn and quickly how to live within that small space of land, we are doomed. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Meets Shamir

NC3010164291 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1615 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Madrid, 30 Oct (MENA)—Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa met this afternoon with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, who is Israel's chief delegate to the Madrid peace conference. The two parties reviewed the peace march and made an assessment of what has been accomplished thus far. They also discussed the significance of holding the peace conference as well as the two sides' views on the future phases of the conference. The discussion also touched on ways to provide means of support for the peace process until it reaches its end; namely, the establishment of a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace that serves the interests of all the Middle East peoples.

Shamir 'New Offer' on Autonomy

TA3010201291 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1932 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report by political correspondent Natan Gutman]

[Text] Israel continues to apply pressure on all sides for the bilateral talks to be held in the Middle East, not Madrid. In a meeting here a short while ago with Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir greatly expounded on the issue and asked that Egypt use its influence to make this come true. Shamir said that each country has only one bilateral counterpart, whereas Israel has all of them as bilateral partners. That is why it wants the talks to be held in the region. Besides, this will accelerate an improvement in relations between the sides. Foreign Minister Musa suggested that perhaps several initial meetings be held in Madrid and only later move to the Middle East. Musa also delivered a message from Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, who congratulated the prime minister and expressed the hope that it would be possible to move together toward promoting the peace process. This is a courageous step by everyone, said the Egyptian president in the message transmitted via 'Amr Musa.

Some more details from that meeting: Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir then raised a proposal we have not heard before. He said that talks with the Palestinians can pick up where the autonomy talks left off in 1982. This is a new offer.

Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir also held another meeting today with Netherlands Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek. Here, too, the issue of the bilateral talks and their venue naturally arose. The prime minister again sought European assistance on the point of the location.

Let us give you a little piquant tidbit about the Musa-Shamir meeting. At the start of the meeting, the Egyptian foreign minister suddenly asked the prime minister why he did not see Shamir applaud after he, Musa, concluded his speech. Of course, the parties burst into laughter, and this was said in jest. Later, however, at the end of the talk, after the two finished discussing the necessary confidence-building measures between the two sides, Shamir simply approached Musa, shook his hand warmly, and said: These are the steps to build confidence among the parties involved in the conflict.

Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir completed his long day of meetings. Right now he is ensconced in his hotel room, reviewing his speech, which will be the first in tomorrow's day of deliberations here at the Madrid conference. We have been told that the prime minister is polishing up his speech, and that the basic points are ready.

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew at 1940 GMT on 30 October, in a report from Madrid by political correspondent Arye Golan, reports that the speech will be in English. Golan also reports that the changes Shamir is introducing into his speech come "in the wake of the latest painful events in Israel and what he heard today in the opening speeches of President Bush, President Gorbachev, and the other speakers." He reports that "the central point in the speech will be that the direct bilateral negotiations should be held in the Middle East, not anywhere else."

[Regarding the meeting with Musa, Golan adds that the two leaders discussed the two countries' "joint battle against the drug affliction."

[Adding more details about Shamir's meeting with the Netherlands foreign minister, Golan says that "they discussed in great detail Damascus' objection to participating in the multilateral talks." Van den Broek "promised that Europe will try to persuade Syria to participate in the multilateral talks."]

Attempt To 'Break Ice' With Arabs

TA3110071191 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0600 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Talk between political correspondent Natan Gutman and anchorman Rafi Reshef in the Madrid studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Reshef] Shalom, Natan Gutman. What do you know about the prime minister's speech?

[Gutman] As far as we understand, the speech will be moderate. It will provide an extensive historical review of the Middle East conflict, after which Shamir will speak of Israel's desire for peace and its ambition of many years to attain peace and to hold direct negotiations with the Arab countries. No surprises are expected. Moreover, Shamir is expected to refrain from using the term settlement in his speech. He will speak of the Jewish people's link to Eretz Yisra'el, of the connection between them, but will not mention settlement.

By the way, there is a rumor circulating in Madrid, which has not been confirmed in any way by the Israeli delegation, alleging a deal of silence: No mention of settlement or territories for peace in the Bush speech, in return for a moderate speech by Israel. [passage omitted]

[Reshef] Natan, I understand you have information about contacts between Cabinet Secretary Elyaqim Rubinstein and Jordanian officials.

[Gutman] Yes, although I am not certain whether contacts is the appropriate term. Beyond yesterday's colorful attempts to forge links—such as Sara Doron extending her hand toward the Lebanese representative, and so forth—more official, more practical attempts were also made—presumably under orders from on high, from the prime minister—to create a link with the other delegations. Elyaqim Rubinstein, the cabinet secretary and a senior delegate, spoke to Jordanian officials of similar rank, starting a kind of dialogue. It is hard to tell what went on between them, but it has been learned that there were no political negotiations or political contacts, and that the contacts represented an initial attempt to break the ice, to start a dialogue between senior Israeli and Jordanian officials.

We should not forget the context of these events: These were mere corridor exchanges in the course of the conference, not clandestine official talks. In any event, they are believed to have been made under orders from on high. [passage omitted]

Shamir Assesses Bush, Gorbachev, Musa Speeches

TA3010163691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1546 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir by political correspondent Arye Golan on 30 October]

[Excerpts] We asked the prime minister questions today and also held a background talk with him, about which I will report later, but the first question we asked Mr. Shamir at the end of the first day of deliberations, the opening of the peace conference, was whether he was optimistic about the chances of promoting the process in view of what he heard today at the conference hall in Madrid. Here is his reply:

[Begin recording] [Shamir] It is too early to reach a conclusive opinion one way or the other. After all, it was merely a day of speeches, the content of which could have been anticipated, more or less. In general, one should not attach too much importance to this part of the process, which is ceremonial and cannot include anything surprising or earth-shattering.

[Golan] Mr. Shamir, did you like President Bush's speech?

[Shamir] It was all right; on the whole, he did not impinge on principles, perhaps a little bit here and there. The President today upholds the line that as long as the process continues, the United States appears as an objective element interested in the success of the process and is not interested in forcing upon the sides the principles it maintains.

[Golan] Mr. Shamir, to the outside observer the conference appears very frozen, without handshakes or talks with the other representatives. Do you think this atmosphere is propitious for the next stages of the deliberations?

[Shamir] This is the reality; it is the reality in the Middle East and the conference reflects it. There is no agreement on handshakes.

[Golan] Mr. Shamir, when you listened to Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa's speech, was there a moment that you regretted that we are engaged in this conference?

[Shamir] No, I did not expect anything better. Of course, if his speech had been more moderate and included some change I would have been pleased, but it does not change the position—the justification or absence of it—with respect to the participation in the process itself.

[Unidentified correspondent] [words indistinct] in your upcoming meeting with the Egyptian foreign minister?

[Shamir] Of course, what else would we talk about?

[Golan] Mr. Shamir, if you sum up the first day of the peace conference, was it a good or bad day?

[Shamir] It was average. [end recording] [passage omitted]

In a conversation Israeli political correspondents held with the prime minister, he was in splendid spirits and joked with us. We asked him, for example, about the keffiyeh Sa'ib 'Urayqat was wearing and whether he was annoyed by it. First of all, Shamir said, Sa'ib 'Urayqat was not present in the afternoon, and even his absence did not improve my mood. For all I care, he added, let them all wear keffiyehs; it makes absolutely no difference to me.

Speaking with us, he really praised President Bush's address, using warmer words than he used in the interview earlier. The prime minister said: President Bush's speech was very good, very calculated; the U.S. President tried not to hurt anyone, including us. [passage omitted]

Another example of Shamir's high-spirited reaction was evident when we asked him about the part of the speech in which Bush talked about territorial compromise. The prime minister said: Indeed, he did mention territorial concessions, but he may have had the Arabs in mind.

Later we asked him about the Egyptian foreign minister's speech, and he said that the speech did not surprise him. 'Amr Musa expressed known Egyptian positions; there is no difference between the position of Egypt and the other Arab countries.

We asked him about the speech of Van den Broek, the EC representative and the Netherlands foreign minister, and he said: We do not expect anything special from the Europeans; the position of the Twelve is known; we have serious differences of opinion with them, but then the dispute is not with Europe.

As for the venue for the direct negotiations, he said that the issue is under discussion. Israel's position is well known: The substantive negotiations should be held in the Middle East, alternately in Israel and in the Arab countries, just like the autonomy talks before, Shamir recalled.

We asked him whether informal contacts have been held in the corridors, not necessarily in the conference hall in front of the cameras, and he replied: Yes, such contacts are held, there have been meetings with the Arabs and with us; the various parties hold talks. Shamir was not prepared to be more specific about those contacts. [passage omitted]

To go back to the briefing with political correspondents, Shamir said: The United States is inclined to accept Israel's position of principle that the direct bilateral negotiations should be held in the Middle East, but on this issue the United States has a problem with the Arabs, given Syria's position on the matter. [passage omitted]

As for Gorbachev's speech, Prime Minister Shamir explained that that address was definitely acceptable. We understood that Shamir was more pleased with Gorbachev's speech than with Bush's. Gorbachev did not say anything offensive to us, he mainly talked about the USSR's and his own problems, said Shamir. The Soviet Union does not want to force any position on anyone. Gorbachev also did not go into details, said Shamir, he has more important worries.

We asked him about the conversation he held yesterday with the Soviet president, and Shamir replied: It was very pleasant to talk to him, we held a very nice conversation. He is interested in Israel and related his ties with Israelis and Jews. In short, in the conversation with Gorbachev he mentioned his hope that the ties between the two countries strengthen and deepen, and that he project this attitude on Foreign Minister Pankin as well.

The prime minister confirmed that he will not wait for the end of the third day of deliberations, when the round of reaction speeches takes places, because he must come back home before the Sabbath. [passage omitted]

We also asked him about his early-morning meeting today with President Bush. He responded: That was a good meeting, in the spirit of the opening speech the President later delivered to the peace conference. Bush explained what he was expecting and asked the prime minister about his views on the direction in which the process should develop. The prime minister did not raise the painful issue of the immigrant absorption loan guarantees in his meeting with the President, saying: I did not want to mix the issues. [passage omitted]

Netanyahu: Palestinian Speech 'Very Extreme'

TA3110152191 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1430 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu by Rafi Reshef in Madrid following address by Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi—live]

[Text] [Reshef] Good day, Mr. Netanyahu.

[Netanyahu] Shalom.

[Reshef] Are you still in Palacio Real?

[Netanyahu] Yes.

[Reshef] Was the speech what the Israeli delegation expected?

[Netanyahu] No, it was not what we expected. The truth is that we heard very difficult things, masked by ornate words. We heard a call for the right of return, which means the annihilation of the State of Israel. We heard them again raising UN Resolution 181, the partition plan, which means ripping parts of the State of Israel: the Galilee, the Negev, and certainly Jerusalem. That practically means the destruction of Israel. Sandwiched between the peace terminology and the pretty words was a very extreme speech, which, I must tell you, surprised us in the delegation.

[Reshef] Will this be the tone of your briefing to the press later on?

[Netanyahu] This is not a matter of tone; it is a simple analysis of the text. We are dealing here primarily with facts and the intentions revealed by them. If the intention of the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, as expressed by both its spokesmen, is to attain peace through such an uncompromising stand—and its exterior does not matter right now—our work will be even harder than we had expected. At the same time, I believe that beyond the call for the exacerbation of the intifadah that I heard in that speech—and I heard the word intifadah more often than I heard the word peace—beyond the call for additional violence and for conditions that mean the end of the State of Israel, I hope these are mere words that will pass with time so that we could start another process. This is our hope, and this is our message, as expressed in our invitation to the Arab leaders to come to Jerusalem, an invitation the prime minister delivered this morning. That is the line we will stress.

[Reshef] Deputy Minister Netanyahu, thank you.

Netanyahu on Public Relations, Contacts

TA3110133391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1105 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu by political correspondent Arye Golan and Shalom Qital—live from Madrid]

[Text] [Golan] We are hearing criticism of Israel's public relations campaign. Deputy Minister Netanyahu is running around here, always in makeup, and it seems to us here that a lot of hard work is being done. Mr. Netanyahu, what is the source of the criticism?

[Netanyahu] I have no idea. I believe that the work done here is not only my own, but that of an army of men doing honest work. For example, we gave 900 interviews yesterday; we are receiving some 1,000 appeals a day, so we accept 90 percent. My news conference was broadcast yesterday live on CNN for 30 minutes. This perhaps is not seen in Israel, but in the United States and around the world people see and hear that. The best proof is that the basic Israeli messages were received and repeated by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev. They are clear, have been understood, and have not come as a surprise. I believe this is the way for us to advance further. I believe the prime minister today delivered a very important message, and we are repeating it on all channels.

The prime minister extended a simple invitation to the Arabs. I have just stood in front of a line of TV cameras and asked the Arab countries: Will you accept our invitation by the end of this conference or not? These things are heard because there is truth in them. We are speaking our truth loud, clear, with conviction, and with no reference to what is said on the sidelines of the conference.

[Qital] One of the problems is perhaps one that does not depend on our efforts: In a first international appearance on such a stage, the Palestinians are the underdog, and people would like to see, interview, and show sympathy for them.

[Netanyahu] This indeed is the opening stand. I believe that in the first half-day they were here alone, for reasons independent of us, and I believe they used this advantage. At the same time, whoever is here is witnessing a clear shift in which Israel's basic arguments for direct negotiations and our calls to move the process forward are becoming more and more widely accepted. As I said, this was apparent in the Presidents's statements, and naturally in Shamir's open invitation. To a large degree, this determines the course of discussions until the end of the conference. I believe you will witness this skirmish, the difficult fight and trench warfare of presenting stands. We feel, and hear from all the delegations, that Israel is clearly winning here, judging from all the reports we have been getting.

[Golan] Concerning the Jordanian foreign minister's speech: It seemed that a sigh of relief came from the Israeli delegation. We saw Knesset Member 'Uzi Landau about to applaud him.

[Netanyahu] You will have to ask him about that. Let me tell you, however, that in a mini-news conference I held after the speech, I was asked why was he so hard—and they did not mean Prime Minister Shamir—they spoke about the Jordanian foreign minister. My reply was that I cannot answer this, but I did ask for a reply to the prime minister's invitation. Are Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon willing to come to peace talks in Jerusalem? I must say that we added that we will not barge into their capitals, but it is only right for anyone who wants to make peace to invite the other party, as the prime minister did. This message is coherent, simple, and penetrating, because it is truthful. I also believe it will have an effect on the next stage, and as you know there will be a next stage.

[Golan] Concerning the Palestinian speech, it becomes apparent, as the deputy foreign minister heard, that the speech will be poetic, as someone who already read it has stated. He added that it will be a nation weeping, not an attack or slander on Israel as we have been used to hearing the Palestinians make. Mr. Netanyahu, do you believe this will be the new direction?

[Netanyahu] I believe this will be the main direction. We have some information on this. There are two dimensions to what is taking place in Madrid: One, we have a public relations war, as we can all see. The Palestinians will try to portray themselves as the main, if not the only, victims of this conflict. Naturally they are victims—just as we are—of the Arab terror, of everything the PLO and the Arab world represent in their denying the idea of coexistence. We will continue our struggle on this difficult front. It is important to have all our forces united—including in the rear, in Israel—in this fight, and I believe we will succeed.

There is another struggle, of which the public relations campaign is a part: The struggle over the future path. We have raised a proposition, which the prime minister presented well.

[Golan] Will the negotiations continue? Is it known where, when, or how? Did we manage to return the negotiations to the Middle East?

[Netanyahu] We managed one thing: No negotiations will be held here. This is not an international conference. No resolutions are made here. We will not discuss Jerusalem or territories here. Anyone who tried to raise these issues was met with surprised gazes: Why here? The practical question right now is where we are going. The Madrid conference ends tomorrow. We are entering the next stage immediately after that. This stage will be the discussions about the convening of direct negotiations. I believe a technical team will deal with this.

[Golan] Does this mean that the whole Israeli delegation will return to Israel on Friday [1 November]?

[Netanyahu] The prime minister is. We will leave a group of people here to represent Israel because the speeches will continue tomorrow afternoon as well. This is part of the propaganda war that will go on until the end of the conference and beyond. The stage we are in right now, however, is that a series of contacts is being held under the surface in parallel with our open struggle. The current effort is to reach agreement about the time and place for the direct talks.

[Golan] Deputy Minister Netanyahu, thank you.

[Tel Aviv Radio in Hebrew at 1230 GMT on 31 October carries an excerpt of a Netanyahu interview in which he says: "We are holding negotiations, intensive contacts, not so much with the United States, but with the Syrians—through indirect venues. This is done simply because we are currently debating the next steps." Netanyahu avoided a question on whether this means "intensive U.S. involvement in the contacts."]

Ben-Aharon: Jordan Speech Not 'Extreme'

TA3110112891 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1100 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Yosef Ben-Aharon, Prime Minister's Office director general, has said that the Jordanian foreign minister's address was not particularly extreme. Rather, he adhered to the pan-Arab stance, as could be expected at an international conference. That had been the reason for Israel's objection to such a conference.

He noted that Israel's consent to participate in a conference had been a big concession. Ben-Aharon asked: We are letting them have some fun in front of the cameras, but what for?

Ben-Aharon Interviewed on Venue of Talks

TA3110130691 Jerusalem Israel Television Network in Hebrew 1200 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Interview with Yosi Ben-Aharon, director general of the Prime Minister's Office, by political correspondent Gadi Sukenik at the Husa Princesa Hotel in Madrid—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Sukenik] I understand that nothing has been concluded yet as far as the direct negotiations and the bilateral talks next week are concerned.

[Ben-Aharon] That is correct. I think that the Americans have so far been unable to find a formula because the Arabs keep looking over their shoulders. I am sure there are some Arab elements who would be willing to meet with us in our region to launch a dialogue; I have no doubt about it. They dare not do that, however, not only for fear of the evil eye but of the knives—or even worse—brandished by their Arab brethren. [passage omitted]

All the participants in this conference have formally committed themselves to launch direct bilateral talks four days after the opening. There is a written agreement to this effect, and we trust the U.S. secretary of state, who said that everybody accepted it. The venue and format of these talks, whether they will be bilateral or whether the Americans will also sit in on them—all these are apparently now being negotiated by the Americans and others.

Our position is clear, and the prime minister expressed it in his speech today: We want to move the center of activity—as of tomorrow, as a matter of fact—to the Middle East. We would be going to Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon alternately, while they would be coming to Israel to negotiate.

[Sukenik] Does an a priori decision about the venue of the talks constitute an Israeli precondition before proceeding with the direct negotiations? After all, we have been demanding that they be held in the Middle East, but the Arabs refuse.

[Ben-Aharon] I do not want to describe it as a precondition. We are interested in negotiations that have a chance of succeeding. The prime minister has explained to the Americans—incidentally, later this evening Mr. Shamir will confer with the Soviet foreign minister, and I suppose he will reiterate the same to him—that if the goal is serious negotiations that will bear fruit, the talks should be held close to the decisionmakers in Israel because we are a democratic country. They should be of such a nature that will allow the Arab world to see that such negotiations are under way. That is the reason for our proposal. Theoretically, the talks could be held in Helsinki or Reykjavik; however, these would not be negotiations but rather something similar to what is currently taking place in Madrid. I think this position is clear and convincing. The Americans do not have an answer to this issue. They say that they agree with us, but the problem lies on the Arab side.

Israeli Doubts Talks Headed Toward Peace

TA3010170291 Tel Aviv Educational Television Network in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Interview with Knesset Member Eliyahu Ben-Elisar, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and member of the Israeli delegation to the Madrid conference, by Yosi Ronen at the Husa Princesa Hotel in Madrid "after the opening session" on 30 October—recorded]

[Text] [Ronen] Dr. Ben-Elisar, when you sat today opposite the Arab delegations in the Palacio Real and before the entire world, was it clear to you that this is a process from which there is no return?

[Ben-Elisar] I hope that is the case. To tell you truth, I am not sure that this was the way I felt. The atmosphere was very somber, much more so than in other conferences I have attended in the past. I really hope there is no return and that we will make progress toward the goal we desire, which is peace treaties with Syria and Jordan. At the moment, it does not look like this is going to be the case.

[Ronen] You talk about peace treaties. Have the foundations of a Palestinian state been laid in Madrid?

[Ben-Elisar] No. I know the Palestinians say that, and some Jews may say the same, but that is not the case at all. Yes, they have expectations far beyond what they will be able to attain. I am sorry that they have such high expectations, because this could lead to a big letdown and disappointment later on. The foundations of a Palestinian state have not been laid here or elsewhere.

[Ronen] Do you think the venue where the talks will continue is of importance?

[Ben-Elisar] Of course it is important. Whoever is interested in peace should be interested in talking, negotiating, and signaling to their people that they are definitely headed toward peace. Incidentally, there is no need for a mediator in such a case. The Egyptians did not at all mind receiving an official Israeli delegation in Cairo three weeks after al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem. On the contrary, they were thereby signaling to their people and the entire world that they want peace.

It is not that the Syrians are not signaling anything. You should have seen them sitting there, frozen, stiff, and withdrawn, trying hard not to sneak a look in our direction. They were sitting around the same table with us, but trying to look as if they were not.

[Ronen] Why should the negotiations not be held in the presence of the Soviets and Americans, as was the case in Camp David?

[Ben-Elisar] First of all, this was done almost toward the end of the process. It was not yet the end, but it was the last leg before the end of the negotiations. Many things were attained prior to that, and talks had been held earlier. After all, several summit meetings took place before Camp David: in Jerusalem, Ismailia, and so forth. In this case, we have not yet held the first meeting. Why should we not negotiate with the Syrians on their soil once and then on ours? The same goes for the Jordanians and for the Arabs of Eretz Yisra'el residing in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza.

[Ronen] Let us talk about the latter's representatives. In your opinion, how strong is the relationship between the Palestinian delegation and the PLO?

[Ben-Elisar] I would rather not talk about it and, believe me, I have good reasons.

[Ronen] In other words, you think the relationship is very strong.

[Ben-Elisar] This is not the time to talk about it. We will have to deal with it in a different manner.

[Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew at 1600 GMT on 30 October adds that Ben-Elisar, reacting to the speeches of the Egyptian and Netherlands foreign ministers, said that "Israel is aware of the fact that during the opening days of the conference, it will be hearing unpleasant statements about itself. The fact is that the speeches of the leaders of the superpowers this morning were fair and more balanced toward Israel. He stressed that the real test will come in the bilateral talks between Israel and its neighbors and noted that if the Arab countries try to postpone this phase, this will be proof that they are not headed toward peace."]

Netanyahu Describes Shamir, Gorbachev Meeting

TA3010184891 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1813 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu by political correspondent Arye Golan—live]

[Excerpt] [Golan] Good evening, Deputy Foreign Minister Binyamin Netanyahu.

[Netanyahu] Good evening.

[Golan] You participated in last night's meeting with Gorbachev. Could you tell us about the invitation? You did not receive a positive response from the Soviet president on the spot, did you?

[Netanyahu] First of all, the invitation was extended by the prime minister in the most simple and straightforward manner. The reply that was given there and then was, in one word: Thanks. Gorbachev, however, did not specify when he could find the time. He did not mention the time but did express appreciation for the invitation. Such a declaration of willingness indicates, I believe, the value of direct contacts. So, the first meeting between the USSR president and the Israeli prime minister after the resumption of ties and after an extended period of hostility—this direct contact yielded immediate positive results. This is precisely the model we want to establish in our contacts with the Arab delegations here.

[Golan] Does the Israeli delegation here in Madrid know when the visit will take place?

[Netanyahu] Well, of course the details have to be worked out, but I must tell you one thing, which I also said yesterday at the end of the conversation: I have participated in many meetings, and I cannot recall a meeting so direct, warm, human, hearty, and open between two heads of state. I am not surprised—even though we never expected such a swift response—because the immediate outcome of such contacts and that chemistry by rights should culminate in a meeting in Israel. [passage omitted]

Al-Husayni Interviewed on Bush Speech, 242

JN3010195091 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1800 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Interview with Faysal al-Husayni, member of the Advisory Council to the Palestinian Delegation, by Kassab Samawi in Madrid on 30 October—words in quotation marks in English]

[Text] [Samawi] Mr. Faysal, on the first day of the peace conference, what message do you wish to address to the kinfolk in the occupied territories?

[Al-Husayni] First, I would like to send my greetings to each and every individual, to each and every struggler, to each and every child, to each and every woman, and to each and every man who has contributed toward the elevation of our cause. We would like to say today, through our stay here, that we have today crowned all of our struggles which started a long time ago to respond to the once-proposed theory that Palestine is a land without a people to be bequeathed to a people without a land. Today, all of these struggles have been crowned by our sitting at the negotiating table in the face of all those who attempted to ignore the existence of the Palestinian people. Today, we have given our reply and begun a new phase of struggle within the framework of this fact which cannot be ignored by any party.

We are starting this struggle; it is a hard struggle. We are working here inside the negotiation chambers to reach a solution, depending first and foremost on the steadfastness of the kinfolk on the streets and also on the steadfastness of the kinfolk in the field. We ask each and every patriot who loves his country, has sacrificed for, and contributed toward it, to support the effort being made here to realize the firm Palestinian principles, and help us to see someday, and it will be soon, an independent Palestinian state on the Palestinian national soil, with Jerusalem as its capital, God willing.

[Samawi] What are your comments on the signals contained in the speech delivered by U.S. President George Bush regarding the Palestinians?

[Al-Husayni] As a matter of fact, he did not speak about Palestine. He spoke of the Palestinian people. He spoke of clear and practical steps meant to allow us to gain control over our life and future. He spoke of the need for a Palestinian solution [changes thought] a regional solution to be [sentence incomplete as heard]. He used the word "fairness" rather than "just." Of course, had he used the word "just," this might have denoted, if the reference were to be to absolute justice, that we would have the right to establish our state all over Palestine from the river to the sea. However, he spoke of an acceptable solution. We view as an acceptable solution the one embodied in Resolutions 242 and 338. Hence, we do not see in this something running against our position. As a matter of fact, Resolution 242 does not offer us justice. It offers us relative justice.

[Samawi] The speech delivered by U.S. President George Bush today has not not clearly and frankly touched on the land-for-peace principle. Likewise, it has left the Jerusalem issue and the settlement issues open for negotiation at the next phase. In your opinion, why have these two issues been so clearly overlooked?

[Al-Husayni] In the letter of assurances given to us, the Americans touched on the land-for-peace formula, and also on assurances related to the Jerusalem issue. Today in this effort, however, in which he is acting as a mediator, as an honest broker as he says, he noted certain positions which are liable to differing explanations. This was not to our liking. At the same time, however, we have our own interpretation of Resolution 242, an interpretation to which we adhere. Our own interpretation of Resolution 242 stipulates that the resolution provides for withdrawal to the pre-1967 war borders, and that negotiations on amending or changing these borders can only be conducted by two sovereign authorities: a Palestinian sovereign authority on the part of the territories from which Israel will withdraw, to the pre-1967 war borders; and an Israeli sovereign authority representing the other side. Consequently, any change of borders in the future and any talk of territories or other matters will be conducted between the two governments. The Israelis might have some demands regarding changing borders in certain directions. Similarly, we have certain demands regarding changing borders in certain directions. This cannot be conducted through preconditions, however, but through two sovereign governments.

Advisory Council Member Comments on Speeches

JN3010181691 Amman Radio Jordan Network in Arabic 1620 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Interview with Radwan Abu-'Ayyash, member of Palestinian Advisory Council, by radio correspondent Muhammad al-Sharif in Madrid on 30 October—recorded]

[Text] [Al-Sharif] At noon today, you listended to the speeches by the U.S. and Soviet presidents at the inauguration of the peace conference. What is your comment on these two speeches?

[Abu-'Ayyash] In fact, the speeches of the U.S. and Soviet presidents reflect the seriousness of the Soviets and the Americans regarding the need to realize peace. But what I noticed in these two speeches was that they did not adopt precise positions and did not refer to the Palestinian-Jordanian positions or the Arab positions in general and the need to implement these positions on the ground. I believe that there are positive elements in these two speeches, but at the same time, I note that they deliberately neglected mentioning the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people or the Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, which are, as we believe, the theme of the political process currently under way in Madrid.

At the same time, we cannot neglect that Bush has referred to the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people, and this is fully harmonious with the letter of assurances Baker presented earlier to the Palestinian and the Jordanian delegations. I believe that there are positive aspects that need implementation, and I may be wrong when I say that Bush and Gorbachev intended by this not to exasperate the Israeli side and give it a pretext to withdraw. But this is a test; this conference is a test for U.S. and Soviet policy, and this is what we want to examine during the direct negotiations that will take place in three days, also in Madrid, to agree on a timetable.

[Al-Sharif] Mr. Radwan Abu-'Ayyash, how do you see the Palestinian situation now in light of the peace conference, or in clearer words, what did the Palestinian side realize through its participation in the peace conference?

[Abu-'Ayyash] In fact, the Palestinian side has realized its national identity for the first time. Shamir, as you know, and before him Begin, and before him Golda Meir did not recognize that the Palestinian people exist as a people, and did not recognize Palestinian national identity. Now the Palestinian emerges after 71 years to say: Here I am, I have a delegation that wants to negotiate on extracting legitimate national rights. I believe that this is very important because the Palestinians have shattered the mold and proved that they exist. This is, I believe, a historic opportunity that may not recur if it is not well exploited. If we realize peace, we will have restored our national rights, and if we fail to do so due to Israel intransigence, we will have exposed Israel in front of the world and held it responsible. Things then will be the responsibility of international legitimacy, which the Americans and the Soviets have to implement.

Al-Husayni on Formation of Governing Committees

TA3110121991 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 31 Oct 91 p 4

[By Pinhas 'Inbari in Madrid]

[Excerpt] Faysal al-Husayni, head of the Palestinian advisory council, told me yesterday that the Palestinians are now setting up committees aimed at taking over from the Israelis governing powers during the interim stage.

This refers to committees on political and economic matters, information committees, and so forth.

Al-Husayni said that the key to committee membership would be neither regional nor divided between "inside" and "outside" the territories. Appointments would based on talent. "The problem is the same for all the Palestinians," al-Husayni said, and there is no difference between "inside and "outside."

Samih Kan'an, a member of the Palestinian delegation, said that there is a Jordanian-Palestinian agreement that when Palestinian issues crop up in the bilateral talks, the joint delegation will be made up of 13 Palestinians and one Jordanian.

Such a composition contradicts the Shamir-Baker understandings that the joint delegation would have more Jordanians, even in negotiations on Palestinian matters. Our correspondent believes that in the final analysis the Jordanians will not be prepared for such a setup. [passage omitted]

Syria's al-Shar' Meets Bush

JN3010170691 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1620 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Unattributed report from Madrid]

[Excerpts] The Madrid peace conference ended its second session at around 1630 Damascus time. The next session will be held at 1100 tomorrow morning, Damascus time. [passage omitted]

On the margin of the Madrid peace conference and before the beginning of the opening session, Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' met with U.S. President George Bush. The topics discussed during the meeting dealt with the Middle East peace conference. [passage omitted]

Al-Husayni, 'Ashrawi Receive Threatening Calls

TA3110090691 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 31 Oct 91 p 10

[Report by Smadar Peri]

[Text] Faysal al-Husayni, Hanan 'Ashrawi, and others in the Palestinian delegation in Madrid received telephone calls over the past two days threatening their lives and those of their families because of their participation in the Madrid conference.

'Ashrawi and al-Husayni complained to a senior official in the Baker entourage that "elements from abroad" managed to track down their room numbers at the Reina Victoria Hotel in Madrid and threatened them in Arabic: "Your lives and those of your relatives in the occupied territories are in danger."

The telephone threats were kept secret at the request of the Americans in order to prevent a wave of threats on the lives of the Palestinian delegation.

Security arrangements were tightened yesterday in the hotel where the Palestinians are based. Journalists wishing to see the Palestinians now have to fix a meeting beforehand and go through strict security checks.

Our correspondent has learned that U.S. security briefed the local security men and the Palestinian bodyguards on the special security measures.

Lebanese Foreign Minister Confers With Baker

NC3010191291 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpts] At 1600 Madrid time, 1700 Beirut time, Foreign Minister Faris Buwayz called on U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at the Orient Palace [as heard], where the peace conference sessions are held. A working session was held, attended on the Lebanese side by Ambassadors Zafir al-Hasan, Mahmud Hammud, Samir Mubarak, Jihad Murtada, and Naji Abu-'Asi, and Counselor Ghassan Salamah, and on the U.S. side by a number of Secretary Baker's aides. The two sides discussed the proceedings of the international peace conference on its first day and the impact of U.S. President George Bush's speech.

Minister Buwayz visited Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez at the Prime Ministry at 1700 Madrid time. Attending the meeting on the Lebanese side were Ambassador al-Hasan and John Daniel, charge d'affaires at the Lebanese Embassy in Spain, and on the Spanish side by Foreign Minister Fernandez-Ordonez.

Minister Buwayz today received a message from his French counterpart Roland Dumas. In his message, Dumas proposed that his country be present and active in the Madrid peace negotiation process. The message said that France has not refrained from working to find a just and durable settlement in the Middle East and that France welcomes the Madrid conference with great hope, just as it welcomed the preparatory talks for the conference. France suggested that it be present and active in the negotiation process and particularly hoped to employ its ties with various parties to provide the desired assistance with a view to reaching a solution at this historic event. [passage omitted]

Minister Buwayz also received a message from Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. The text of the message is as follows: I congratulate you and your government on the good decision to participate in the Middle East peace conference. Such deeds require the utmost courage, patience, and clarity on the part of all parties. However, these efforts seem small in comparison with the positive outcome of genuine peace. The leaders who contributed to this peace process will enjoy a distinguished place in history.

For a long time, Canada has supported holding direct negotiations based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. We do not play down the difficulties that will face the talks. We fully encourage you to take advantage of this event and I am convinced that a durable peace is bound to bring about stability for all the region's countries. I strongly hope that these negotiations will eventually lead to peace, stability, and the stability of the Lebanese people and the region's peoples. All those who share this goal can rely on full support from Canada.

Palestinian Affairs

PNC Official Says 'Arafat To Remain in Tunis

JN3110081391 Amman AKHBAR AL-USBU' in Arabic 31 Oct 91 pp 1, 15

["Exclusive" to AKHBAR AL-USBU']

[Excerpt] Tunis—In a telephone interview with AKHBAR AL- USBU', Salim al-Za'nun, alias Abu-al-Adib, deputy speaker of the Palestine National Council, currently in Tunis, has denied reports that Palestine president Yasir 'Arafat will arrive in Amman within the next few hours. Al-Za'nun said that Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] is following the peace conference proceedings from Tunis and will stay there for the next three days. A hotline, he added, has been established between Abu-'Ammar's headquarters and the Palestinian delegations' residence in Madrid to consult over and discuss all developments and learn about the conference proceedings.

Al-Za'nun added that the Israeli attempts over the past few hours to exclude Dr. Sa'ib 'Urayqat because of his statements have failed.

Abu-al-Adib said Yasir 'Arafat is in constant touch with His Majesty King Husayn and Presidents Husni Mubarak and Hafiz al-Asad to discuss various developments. He also said Faruq Qaddumi is holding constant and intensive contacts with Saudi Foreign Minister Sa'ud al-Faysal.

Al-Za'nun said the Saudi position on the conference is excellent in light of Saudi Arabia's insistence on the return of Jerusalem and its decision to send an observer from the Gulf states to the conference.

Regarding the Palestinian surprise which the media talked about a few days before the conference, al-Za'nun said the Palestinian surprise will be that the Palestinian and Arabs are sincere in their search for peace and stability in the world. However, he added, the Israelis are still defying international legitimacy, especially since yesterday, and on the eve of Madrid conference, they started building a new settlement. [passage omitted]

Emigration, Settlement Issues To Be Raised

JN3110080691 Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 31 Oct 91 p 16

[By Tawfiq 'Abid in Amman]

[Excerpt] Palestine National Council [PNC] Speaker Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sa'ih has said that at the outset of negotiations with the Israeli team, Palestinian negotiators will strongly broach a halt to Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union and the building of settlements, or expansion of existing ones.

The PNC speaker told AL-DUSTUR that our delegation is fully aware of the dangers posed by Jewish immigration and settlement activity to Palestinian independence and rights.

Asked about the possibility of internationalizing Jerusalem as a compromise, Shaykh al-Sa'ih said: We cannot cede Jerusalem or allow its internationalization, because we consider the city as the capital of the independent Palestinian state. We hope that the world will appreciate that this city is sacred to Muslims, according to their creed and the Koran.

He went on to say: This does not mean that others should be deprived of rights of free worship or of enjoying their religious rights and traditions, especially the Christians, who hold similar views toward the Holy City as Muslims. [passage omitted]

Fatah Envoy Praises Musa Speech at Conference

NC3110110091 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0920 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 31 Oct (MENA)—Mr. Zuhdi al-Qidrah, Fatah representative in Cairo and alternate Palestinian ambassador, praised Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa's speech to the Madrid peace conference opening session, saying it reflected Egypt's blessed policy of working to protect pan-Arabism, and could be considered the real basis for a just and comprehensive peace in the region.

He quoted President Mubarak's statement to THE NEW YORK TIMES—that there can be no peace without the return of East Jerusalem—explaining that trading land for peace, stopping settlement building, and realizing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are the preludes to peace in the Middle East.

Official in Bonn Hails Bush Madrid Speech

LD3010205291 Berlin ADN in German 1854 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Hanover (ADN)—'Abdallah al-Franji, head of the Palestine Information Office in Bonn, described the U.S. President's speech as a "good start" to the Madrid Conference. We can "hope for a successful course to the meeting", Al-Franji told the Hanover based NEUE PRESSE (Thursday edition).

Al-Franji said on the declaration by the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation: "We shall thus talk to each other for the first time as equal partners." That is the "first success we have marked." Israel will be confronted with a "flexible partner who is prepared to conclude peace and accept the State of Israel if the Israelis have accepted the Palestinians in return," Al-Franji stated. (The article was prereleased in an edited version)

Egypt

Demonstrations Against Madrid Conference Noted

NC2910173791 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 1630 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] In Egypt, approximately 4,000 students, mostly members of Islamic fundamentalist groups, demonstrated today to protest the Madrid peace conference. Some 500 female students participated in the demonstration which took place on the Cairo University campus. A few days ago, Egyptian police arrested about 200 Egyptians for distributing leaflets condemning the peace conference and calling for a jihad against Israel.

Security Measures Thwart Conference Protestors

NC3010174291 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1635 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 30 Oct (MENA)—The Egyptian Interior Ministry's security departments have adopted stringent measures on the occasion of the peace conference in Madrid to thwart any attempt by certain elements to sow confusion and exploit the current circumstances to create disturbances in Egypt.

Interior Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa has issued instructions to tighten security measures at road junctions, foreign embassies, and important installations. He also canceled a scheduled visit to Dubayy at the head of a delegation to attend the graduation of a group of police officers there. The delegation left for Dubayy without the minister yesterday.

The interior minister canceled the leave of all police officers in Cairo, al-Jizah, Alexandria, and other governorates to follow up the security situation.

A number of fundamentalist and extremist students gathered inside the Cairo University campus yesterday and today in an attempt to incite the students against the peace conference. They shouted slogans hostile to the United States and Israel. Most students did not respond to them and continued their studies.

A security source said the security authorities will not confront the students as long they remain within the university campus and do not try to obstruct studies or demonstrate outside the university. He emphasized that the freedom of expression is guaranteed for all.

The source also stressed that no incidents disturbing security have occurred anywhere in Egypt. The masses realize the importance of the current phase and that the peace conference aims to achieve a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian issue.

Conference Said First Step Toward Peace

NC3010194091 Cairo Arab Republic of Egypt Radio Network in Arabic 1240 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Ibrahim Wahbi commentary: "The First Step Toward Peace"]

[Text] The first step toward peace was made in Madrid today. Egypt was the first in this region to call for peace in 1977, proceeding from the belief that its victory in the October 1973 war was made for the sake of peace and legitimacy. This was more than 17 years ago. Today, the signs of peace are everywhere: in Madrid to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict and restore international legitimacy in this part of the world; in the Hague where the EC is holding peace talks to establish a confederation among the six republics of Yugoslavia; and in Pyongyang, where the peace talks between the two Koreas ended with a peace agreement. The same applies to the peace talks between the United States and Vietnam. In this respect, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has expressed his country's readiness to normalize relations with Vietnam. But the most important of all these talks are the current talks in Madrid aimed at settling differences that have lasted for more than 40 years and resulted in wars, massacres, murders, displacement, and terrorism.

We thought it appropriate to start this way to show the grave responsibility to be borne by those seeking to obstruct this conference and the extent of damage to be caused by those who go to the Madrid conference without good intentions or sufficient sincerity to clear up the residue of the past. We will not try here to analyze the extremist and hardline statements made before the Israeli delegation arrived in Madrid for the peace talks. Some analysts described these statements as similar to those made during election campaigns. Others said that the Israeli delegates think that going to the very edge of the precipice could give them a more favorable negotiating position. Former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin was a stricter extremist and hardliner, but he was the first to sign the peace agreements with Egypt in 1979. Then others came after him to sign agreements on the return of Tabah to Egypt after having sworn earlier that they would never give it back.

We say that the current peace talks in Madrid are of interest to the whole world and that is why there is broad international representation at the conference. In addition to the parties concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict, the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are cosponsors of the conference. A number of influential international groups, such as the EC and the United Nations, are also represented in the conference. We believe that the presence of representatives from the whole world will make it difficult for any of the parties concerned to maintain positions of occupation that lack international legitimacy without arousing the rage of the entire world.

How could the features of the required international legitimacy be determined? The answer, quite simply: By giving back what was taken away. This is stipulated under Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and is in accordance with the land for peace principle. These are the bases for peace underlined by the United States and the Soviet Union, the two sponsors of the conference, as well as by all the international bodies represented in the conference, such as the United Nations, the EC, and the Arabs. Israel, alone, is the one that has a different opinion and that is swimming against the current, thinking that the current will sweep the world away from it. The Palestinians have made the maximum possible concessions to show their goodwill, and we do not believe that Israel wants them to give up the land as well. All the Arabs agreed to sit in peace and accord with their neighbor Israel if Israel gave them their legitimate rights.

European Parliament Delegation Arrives in Cairo

NC2710221591 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2125 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 27 Oct (MENA)—European Parliament President Enrique Baron Crespo and his delegation arrived in Cairo this evening on a one-day visit as part of a Middle East tour during which they will visit Israel and Jordan.

The European Parliament president will hold talks with People's Assembly Speaker Dr. Fathi Surur and Consultative Council Speaker Dr. Mustafa Kamal Hilmi on Middle East developments and matters related to the peace conference.

Muhammad 'Abd al-Ilah, chairman of the People's Assembly Foreign Relations Committee, who received the delegation at the airport, said the visit comes at a crucial time and it will be able to hear the Egyptian view on the peace conference.

PLO Adviser Nabil Sha'th Arrives in Cairo

NC2810172991 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1655 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Cairo, 28 Oct (MENA)—Nabil Sha'th, political adviser to Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat, arrived in Cairo from Amman this afternoon. Sha'th recently visited Cairo where he attended the meeting between President Husni Mubarak and 'Arafat.

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Protests Turkish Raids on Kurds

LD3010131191 Tripoli Great Jamahiriyah Radio Network in Arabic 1130 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The brother leader of the revolution addressed a message to the president of the UN General Assembly, and here is its text:

Mr. UN General Assembly president:

A short time ago, the UN Security Council was claiming arrogantly that it is the supreme protector of the Kurds and of their right to liberation, to carry arms, and to obtain safe regions in northern Iraq.

Today, however, land and air raids are being launched against the poor Kurds, and civilians and children are being murdered without your honorable Assembly lifting a finger.

Are the Iraqi raids made of fire, but the Turkish raids on the Kurds made of cool water and peace? Or do the Kurds have the right to rebel only against Iraq, but do not have the right to rebel against Turkey?

Mr. President, this shameful stance would have no result but to blow up the remaining deception—namely that there are a UN Security Council and a UN General Assembly in this world.

Trading in the blood of the poor Kurds will never provide the United Nations, the UN Security Council, and NATO with the necessary fig leaves.

[signed] Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

Sends Note to Turkey's Ozal

LD3010125791 Tripoli Great Jamahiriyah Radio Network in Arabic 1130 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The brother leader of the revolution addressed a message to Turkish President Turgut Ozal, and here is its text:

President Turgut Ozal, president of the Republic of Turkey:

A short time ago, Turkey militarily cooperated with the Christian Western countries in protecting the Kurds from the Iraqi raids. At that time Turkey appeared as if it was supporting the right of the Kurds to rebel and carry arms. However, now we see Turkey launching air and land raids against the same Kurds and denying them the right to rebel and carry arms.

Therefore, Mr. President, the issue is not the right of the Kurds and their cause, but is, as it is now very clearly shown, another issue which is completely different from the issue of poor Kurds. The Kurds were merely a card used against Iraq, which also deserves pity.

Anyway, Mr. President, we cannot absorb this blatant contradiction, and we cannot simply watch the massacre of the poor Kurds.

America has always dragged fraternal Turkey into the policies of serving the imperialist Western Christian interests at the expense of the neighbors and brothers of Turkey.

[Signed] Your brother, Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi.

Conveys Support to Kurdish Leaders

LD3010131691 Tripoli Great Jamahiriyah Radio Network in Arabic 1130 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The brother leader of the revolution addressed a message to the secretary general of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK], and here is its text:

Dr. Jalal al-Talabani, secretary general of PUK, Iraq.

You know very well my firm stance toward the right of the fraternal torn Kurdish nation to unity and complete independence, which stems from by belief in the truth of the national basis in the history of mankind, and in the right of every nation to independence and to reject hegemony. We have experienced the same when other nationalities violated and controlled the pan-Arab nationalism.

In spite of my appreciation of your tragedy and your right to exploit any opportunity, you must now be sure that the Christian Western countries and Turkey were not really interested in your fate when they interfered in northern Iraq, in your name, but have fooled you in order to fulfill imperialist policies, the most important of which was vanquishing the Arabs for the benefit of the Israelis.

Why do they not interfere now to stop the Turkish raids, and to establish safe regions for the Kurds inside Turkey? How can fraternal, Muslim, and neighboring Turkey help the Western countries in vanquishing Iraq for your sake, then vanquish you when you fight it? Do the Kurds have rights in Iraq, but no rights in Turkey?

I would like to say to you: The freedom and unity of the Kurdistan nation will not be achieved through NATO, which is the enemy of the peoples, but through the struggle of its sons and through its alliance with the Arab revolution forces.

[Signed] Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi. [Passage omitted: identical messages addressed to the secretary general of the Kurdistan Democratic Party in Iraq, Mas'ud al-Barzani; and the secretary general of the Kurdistan Labor Party in Turkey]

'Angry Demonstrations' Denounce Madrid Conference

LD3010113191 Tripoli Great Jamahiriyah Radio Network in Arabic 1100 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] In the Great Jamahiriyah since early morning, various regions of the country have been witnessing demonstrations of anger, denunciations, and rejection of the so-called peace conference which commenced today in Madrid.

The masses of the basic and pan-Arab people's congresses, and the student masses of the various educational institutions of the Great Jamahiriyah, were unanimous in their statements, issued during angry demonstrations, on the absolute impossibility of coexistence between the Arabs and the Zionists, and emphasized the necessity of liberating Palestine from the river to the sea, and from the south to the south.

Morocco

'Arafat Arrives To Consult With King Hassan

LD3010151491 Rabat Moroccan Kingdom Radio Network in Arabic 1300 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Statement by Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, to unidentified correspondent upon arrival at Menara-Marrakech airport on 30 October—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Your visit to your second country falls within the framework of consultations with His Majesty King Hassan II at a time when the greatest summit, the Madrid peace summit, is starting. Can you give the Arab public any clarification on this subject?

['Arafat] Undoubtedly, on this day which is important, historic, and fateful as far as the peace process in our region, particularly in Palestine, is concerned, I had to come here to consult His Majesty King Hassan II—not just in his capacity as king of the Kingdom of Morocco, but also in his capacity as president of the Arab Maghreb summit on the one hand, and as chairman of the Jerusalem Committee, on the other. It is important for Palestinians, Arabs, Muslims, and Christians to focus on this major issue, because, as you already know, there is an attempt to exclude the subject of Jerusalem and its representatives from the talks and also to sidestep this core issue and these firm bases which constitute the starting point for we the Muslims, the Christians, the Arabs, and the Palestinians. As you know, the Moroccan brethren are resolutely and actively involved in helping their Palestinian brethren in particular and their Arab brethren in the frontline states at this conference. This visit falls within the framework of these important circumstances in which we need the advice of his majesty the king and his pertinent views.

Prime Minister, Senegalese Counterpart End Talks

Final Communique Released

LD2510091791 Rabat RTM Television Network in Arabic 2030 GMT 24 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The expanded final session between the two Moroccan and Senegalese delegations headed by Prime Minister Azzeddine Laraki and Senegalese Prime Minister Habib Thiam in the presence of other ministers of the two governments was held today. The session was concluded with the release of the final joint communique.

At the beginning of the session, the final communique was read out. It defined the matters over which agreement had been reached in regard to the aims and fields within which the bilateral cooperation will polarize. [passage omitted]

In a speech, Azzeddine Laraki praised all those who participated in embodying the spirit of cooperation between the two countries within the framework of a positive agreement that would strengthen the traditional relations between Morocco and Senegal.

In turn, the Senagelese prime minister, Mr Habib Thiam, expressed his happiness with the agreement that had been reached and which will be an earnest step forward in the two countries' cooperation. He was happy to see that Morocco is very ready and willing to give bilateral cooperation a new push forward and to supply it and to encourage it with all the essential means to make it successful.

Following the session, the two prime ministers, Dr. Azzeddine Laraki and Mr. Habib Thiam, met with newsmen during which they answered numerous questions that centered on bilateral cooperation.

During this meeting, Mr Habib Thiam voiced his deep satisfaction with the level of Moroccan-Sengalese relations pointing out that the results arrived at during the talks were very encouraging and embraced various vital fields within which cooperation can take place. The Senegalese prime minister explained that it was possible to reach these results due to the identical viewpoints of the two countries on various political, economic, and social levels.

For his part, the prime minister, Dr. Azzeddine Laraki affirmed that the political wills of the two countries leaders have been decisive in reaching these results and they paved the way for relations that bring the two countries together, to inaugurating a new era of cooperation in the interest of the two friendly countries.

The meeting was an occasion during which the leading role of Morocco and Senegal at the level of the African continent and the Islamic states, particularly in the ICO, was stressed.

Cooperation Agreements Detailed

LD2610131291 Rabat MAP in English 1228 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Rabat, Oct. 25 (MAP) - Morocco and Senegal agreed to reactivate their economic, commercial, social, administrative, cultural and religious cooperation.

The press release circulated at the end of the three day visit Senegalese Premier Habib Thiam paid to Morocco Oct.23-25 and during which he was received by King Hassan II points out that in the prospect of the coming session of the inter-state committee slated for early January and in a bid to give a new impetus to all cooperation programs, the two sides agreed to update and consolidate the legal framework ruling bilateral relations to take into account the evolution of all economic sectors.

It has been decided to bolster commercial and financial cooperation through accords on non-double taxation, investments protection, reactivation of the Moroccan-Senegalese chamber of commerce, and promotion of technical cooperation in matters of customs, taxes, budgets management and insurance.

The two parties also pledged to boost their industrial, agricultural and fisheries cooperation through the promotion of small and medium scale industries, the exchange of expertise in irrigation ditches construction and reafforestation and the setting up of joint ventures for the processing and marketing of sea products. Economic information exchanges will also be consolidated

Morocco agreed to help Senegal in the devolution experience it has embarked on and in staff training.

In the area of cultural cooperation, Morocco completed the Arab language laboratory of the Dakar Islamic Institute and will carry out a literacy project in Arabic supplying Senegal with the necessary equipment, manuals and supervisors. It will also ensure the training of trainers for the teaching of Arabic and Senegal as it will organize a training session to the attention of senior religious staff.

The Moroccan side equally pledged to extend all possible assistance to the Senegalese Government in organizing the coming Islamic summit.

Thiam who left Morocco Friday after a trip to Fes said the visit was "positive" and enabled the two sizes to enlarge the scope of their cooperation on the political, economic and social levels.

23 Injured, 130 Arrested in University Clashes

NC2610204891 Paris AFP in English 2012 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Rabat, Oct 26 (AFP) - Clashes at the University of Fes between Islamic fundamentalists and Marxists left 23 persons injured, three seriously, and led to the arrest of 130 persons, officials said Saturday.

The officials said the fighting, which took place Friday, did not continue on Saturday.

All but 30 of the 130 persons arrested were released within hours, police said.

Clashes between the two groups have multiplied in recent months.

8 Kakh Members Enter U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem

TA3110101991 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1000 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Eight top Kakh activists managed to enter the U.S. Consulate in East Jerusalem about an hour ago. In a statement released to the press, they claim that they will stay there until the United States changes its anti-Israeli policy and Syrian Jewry is freed.

Our police affairs correspondent, Moshe Nussbaum, reports that the eight Kakh activists, including some with U.S. citizenship, entered the consulate building with the permission of the security guards, even though the consulate was told by the police what was involved. A police force is now deployed outside the building.

3 Members Leave After 'Agreement'

TA3110121591 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1105 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Studio discussion between anchor Roni Daniyel and police affairs correspondent Moshe Nussbaum—live]

[Excerpt] [Daniyel] A group of Kakh members entered the U.S. Consulate in East Jerusalem this morning and, in a meeting with the vice consul, presented a series of demands they want presented to President Bush and Secretary Baker. Some of them are still in the building. They claim that the consulate allowed them to stay there until the response to their demands arrives. Moshe Nussbaum has just returned from there:

[Nussbaum] Four or five Kakh activists, all of them U.S. citizens, are currently in the U.S. Consulate in East Jerusalem. Three of the members left the building a short while ago following an agreement they claim to have made with the vice consul. According to this agreement, Barukh Marzel said, the consulate is currently faxing a message to President Bush in Washington and Secretary of State Baker in Madrid. [passage omitted]

Nine Points of Shamir Letter to Baker Reported

TA3110074091 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 31 Oct 91 p 2

[Report by Hana Qim]

[Text] On the eve of his departure for Madrid, Yitzhaq Shamir sent a letter to James Baker in which he outlined Israel's red lines in the negotiations. It is a very harsh missive and contains two new demands. YEDI'OT AHARONOT yesterday published four of the points in the letter. The truth is that these were just segments of the four points. Five additional points were not reported because their publication is apparently uncomfortable for Shamir. It seems that since he landed in Madrid, Shamir has softened his positions, giving in on the issue of the time allotted to the speech by the Palestinians, and there appears to be great doubt if the Americans will agree to some of the nine points presented to Baker.

The following are the nine points Shamir demanded from Baker:

1. Israel calls on the United States to voice its opposition to a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation because there is no difference between such a confederation and an independent Palestinian state. (In other words, the Americans are expected to renege on a promise they gave on that issue to the Palestinians).

2. Jerusalem is not up for discussion. No East Jerusalem inhabitant can participate in the discussions on the future of Jerusalem. (In other words, this is a new demand that the two East Jerusalem delegates in the Jordanian delegation not participate in the negotiations).

3. Israel is not bound by promises the United States made in its letters of assurances to the Arab sides in the negotiations.

4. Israel adopts the Camp David accords in toto and whoever does not adopt them in toto cannot make use of isolated components of the accords.

5. Progress in the bilateral and multilateral talks will be simultaneous, and any progress within one framework will be linked to progress in the other.

6. The goal of the peace talks is a peace treaty.

7. Israel disqualifies anybody appointed or authorized by the PLO or anybody who presents himself as a representative of that organization.

8. The United States will ensure that the Palestinian delegation does not operate as an independent delegation.

9. Israel demands that an effort be made to adopt most of the components of the 1983 peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon.

These are the red lines with which Yitzhaq Shamir left for Madrid. It will be interesting to see from which ones he will back away. Clause 8, for instance, has already become nothing more than a declaration because the Palestinian delegation in Madrid is gaining independence by the hour. Clauses 1 and 2 are new and surprising Shamir demands, and it is doubtful whether the United States can accept them.

Levi Criticizes U.S., Netanyahu at Conference

TA3110092191 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 31 Oct 91 p 11

[Report by Hana Qim]

[Excerpt] David Levi has stayed at home, and all sorts of strange things are happening to him. For instance, he is again talking like a "constraints minister," as one of the members of his camp said. Yesterday, he won praise from Rehav'am Ze'evi (who, it will be recalled, did not want Levi to go to the Madrid conference.) It happened yesterday at the Inner Cabinet meeting chaired by Levi, who is standing in for Shamir, and it started with remarks by Ari'el Sharon, who said that the information campaign in Madrid does not match the government's political stands. Sharon apparently assumed that Levi could not be indifferent to criticism of his deputy Binyamin Netanyahu, who is responsible for the information campaign at the conference. Sharon was right.

Levi opened by sharply criticizing the Americans, something he has not done since taking over the Foreign Ministry. Moreover, he indirectly criticized the prime minister and Netanyahu. The new procedures at Madrid are unacceptable to Israel. He does not understand why Israel caved in on a blatant violation of the understanding with the Americans, and he believes that the Israeli team at the negotiations "is not navigating its positions properly" (in other words, Shamir, the captain, is responsible for that).

He does not understand how the Israeli information campaign in Madrid yielded to the Americans and, like Sharon, believes that it does not reflect the government's political stands (in other words, Netanyahu presents a too-soft position.) "The information campaign in Madrid is managed by what is claimed to be our best team," Levi said. "These people are adopting a line that plays down the significance of the reality that Israel has been faced with two facts on Palestinian representation that contradict commitments to us."

Rehav'am Ze'evi praised Levi for those remarks in the Inner Cabinet, commenting, "I must admit that each word Levi said is true." Is it possible that a surprising friendship is developing between Levi and Ze'evi? Will Levi renew the "constraints alliance" with Sharon?

No, says somebody close to Levi. You must understand the man. Levi is going through difficult times. As somebody charged with being a "defeatist," Levi sees two hawks—'Uzi Landau and Netanyahu—praising Bush's speech and not initiating, at Shamir's instructions, a battle over the 45 minutes allotted to the Palestinians. Had Levi yielded on that to the Americans, Shamir, Netanyahu, and Landau once again would have accused him of being too soft.

David Levi is now in a difficult situation. It seems that the prime minister and his team in Madrid are not updating him on developments. They leave that to Yosef Hadas, acting director general of the Foreign Ministry, and Eytan Ben-Tzur, Levi's right-hand man in the Foreign Ministry, who are Levi's only links to the conference.

Yesterday morning Levi's close associates feared that he would not be able to withstand the CNN clips showing Netanyahu rubbing shoulders with Shamir and other world leaders, but Levi managed to vent his steam at the Inner Cabinet meeting. [passage omitted]

Kahana To 'Make It Difficult' for Shamir

TA3010203791 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 2000 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Several supporters of the Kahana Hay [Kahana Lives] movement, including the late rabbi's son, Binyamin Ze'ev Kahana, left for Madrid this evening. Kahana's son told our correspondent Mikha'el Tuchfeld that his men intend to take action to make it difficult for Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir to give back part of the territory of Eretz Yisra'el.

Clashes in Territories Over Conference; 40 Injured

TA3110082991 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in English 0500 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] A homemade bomb was thrown at an Israeli car near Bethlehem last night. The bomb exploded, but no one was injured. Soldiers searched the area.

In the Dayr al-Balah refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, opponents of the Madrid peace conference threw a petrol bomb at conference supporters.

Some 40 Palestinians were injured yesterday throughout the territories in clashes between pro- and anti-conference demonstrators.

Overnight, the army clamped a curfew on the city of Gaza to head off disturbances and clashes between supporters and opponents of the Madrid talks.

Commentary Analyzes Bush, Gorbachev Speeches

TA3110115391 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 31 Oct 91 p A2

[Commentary by 'Aqiva Eldar: "Hasty Joy"]

[Text] Had Shim'on Peres been sitting at the Madrid conference yesterday, instead of Yitzhaq Shamir, he could have claimed that George Bush had taken the words right out of his mouth. What symbolizes the alignment's concept more than the term "territorial compromise"? But even a clear representative of the concept of "not a single inch of territory"—such as Yitzhaq Shamir—got out of it by smiling and saying, "It is possible that he meant Arab territorial compromises."

In his speech yesterday, Bush made an obvious effort to please Israel. Israel received a presidential pledge on three significant principles it has marked on its political flag: a contractual peace (in contrast to nonbelligerence), peace based on security, and a mechanism for direct bilateral talks to achieve it.

The Israeli delegation was also pleased with what Bush did not say or even hint at this time. In contrast to his March speech at the end of the Gulf war, Bush avoided reference to the occupied territories and settlements and the traditional U.S. formula for solving those problems—territories for peace.

There was not a single word about Palestinian political rights, not to mention the right to self-determination. Bush tried to please them by making general remarks about "meaningful control over their own lives and fate" and something about peace "based on fairness."

The Syrians barely managed to get anything. Nobody had any doubt about whom the President was referring to when he spoke about the importance of the bilateral talks and that peace treaties between the sides were vital. Only a week ago President al-Asad informed James Baker that Syria was not ripe for such far-reaching peace moves.

Gorbachev's speech was also soothing to some Israeli ears in Madrid. The Soviet president left no room for doubt that he had come to Madrid with the hope of receiving generous U.S. compensation for the meager support such a poor country has to offer the only remaining superpower. We should not rule out the possibility of prior U.S.-USSR coordination aimed at cushioning Israel before the next stage.

Shamir himself maintained maximum restraint in discussing the speech by the two presidents, apparently with good reason. The prime minister knows that when the spotlights are extinguished, Israel might be told to pay in the hard currency of concessions for the pleasant remarks by Bush and Gorbachev. In fact, the bill has already been presented to him in his meetings with the two before the opening of the conference. They belittled the dispute over the venue for the bilateral talks, which Shamir has demanded take place in the region and which he has threatened to make a stumbling block on the way to achieving the next target—the stage of real talks.

Israeli officials, wiser after spending many hours with Baker, were careful not to speak in praise of the outcome. They prefer to wait and listen to the secretary of state's remarks on Friday, prior to the closing of the conference. They are concerned that if by then he does not soften up Shamir on the venue of the bilateral talks, Baker will say everything his President did not say and everything he himself was careful not to say in his news conference.

One needs a large measure of naivete to believe that the leaders of the United States and the USSR yesterday announced an upheaval in their Middle East policies. In comparison to the speech by EC representative Hans van den Broek, they were pleasant speeches to Israeli ears.

But the tradition of behind-the-scenes coordination between the United States and Europe can indicate that the work has been divided up between the good guys and the bad guys.

The Netherlands foreign minister said out loud what the Americans and the Soviets refrained from saying yesterday: denouncing settlements, calling for an exchange of territories for peace, and urging a study of the Fourth Geneva Convention. He was not prevented from repeating a warning that Baker himself had given more than once to Israelis: If you do not go along with us, we will meet in the Security Council.

Communist Party Welcomes Peace Talks

TA3010182391 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1800 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] MAQI [Israel Communist Party] welcomes the Madrid conference. Our party affairs correspondent Shlomo Raz reports that MAQI's Central Committee called on the government to freeze the settlements and make gestures toward the Palestinians, such as releasing detainees and allowing deportees to return to improve the atmosphere in anticipation of the bilateral talks.

UN Envoy Protests Iran's Support of Terrorism

TA3010182091 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1800 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Israel's ambassador to the United Nations has protested to the UN secretary general Iran's declaration that it actively supports terrorist organizations operating against Israel and the peace process. Ambassador Yoram Aridor emphasized that the UN Charter does not allow one member country to threaten another. Our Washington correspondent 'Oded Ben-'Ami points out that Iran's declaration was made at the Palestine conference that was held in Tehran not long ago.

European Parliament's Crespo Ends Visit, Comments

TA3010182691 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1800 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Enrique Baron Crespo, president of the European Parliament, says that the Middle East political process should focus not only on the principle of territory for peace, but on the sincere desire of all the parties to make peace. He was speaking to reporters at the end of his visit to Israel.

Gaza Medical Association Official Arrested

TA3010172891 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1600 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Our correspondent Moti Amir reports that the security forces in the Gaza Strip have issued an administrative order against Dr. Rabbah (Mahana) and arrested him for six months. Dr. (Mahana) is the deputy chairman of the Medical Association in the Gaza Strip and second to Dr. Zakariya al-Agha, the chairman of the association and a member of the Palestinian delegation to the Madrid conference.

Katyusha Fired at SLA Position; No One Injured

TA3010171491 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1500 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] A Katyusha rocket was fired today at an SLA [South Lebanese Army] position abutting the security zone, but nobody was hurt. Our correspondent Hayim

Hecht has learned from UNIFIL [UN Interim Force in Lebanon] headquarters that, in response, SLA tanks and cannons directed their fire at terrorist targets north of the security zone. Since last night, hundreds of shells have been fired at terrorist targets in the al-Nabatiyah area.

Commentary Views 'Mild' IDF Reaction to Attacks

TA3010160691 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 30 Oct 91 p 2

[Commentary by Avi Bnayahu: "Our Hands Are Not Tied, But...."]

[Text] The Islamic organizations and the rejectionist front in Lebanon and the territories have so far not managed to torpedo the Madrid conference, as they had promised, but they have certainly managed to grab themselves headlines in Israel and around the world and thereby cloud the atmosphere at the opening of the talks.

The orders to concentrate efforts on the terrorist front emanated from the Tehran conference of the rejectionist front, which opposes the Madrid conference. These orders fell on attentive ears, especially those of the organizations still operating freely in Lebanon and those armed with weapons in the territories.

From the viewpoint of Israel, which is definitely not in a comfortable position, the formal address is the Lebanese Government, but responsibility also lies with Tehran and Damascus. The perpetrators of Monday's bus attack in the West Bank and the terrorists who tried to infiltrate Israel yesterday are operating under the aegis of Syria.

The somewhat mild reaction of the IDF [Israel Defense Forces] to yesterday's fatal attack in Lebanon must be tied to several factors which restrict the scope of the response despite the declarations that "our hands are not tied."

First and foremost, it is due to the political timing and the desire not to disrupt the peace talks in Madrid. The secret negotiations on the MIA's and POW's are also apparently influencing the response. We are in the midst of a direct, violent confrontation with Hizballah, but at the same time are in the midst of indirect negotiations to resolve the MIA and POW problem.

A third reason is the concern about entering into a new military adventure in Lebanon, where the central government is currently functioning under the auspices of Damascus.

The Israeli military response is concentrating on an attempt to make life difficult for the Shiites north of the security zone until they themselves curb Hizballah's activities.

The escalation in terrorist activities in the territories, Lebanon, and in other sectors might worsen if the talks blow up in Madrid or if Israel refuses to accept the proposal to stop settlement in exchange for an end to the intifadah. In such a situation, violent disturbances in the territories and an increase in the use of live ammunition can be expected. The reality of the peace discussions, which are being conducted in parallel with the confrontation with brutal terrorism and guerrilla activities, will probably be with us for months to come.

Dwindling Level of Coastal Aquifer Viewed

TA3010131991 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 30 Oct 91 p B2

[Report by Hayim Bi'or]

[Excerpts] The orange groves surrounding almost every Gaza Strip neighborhood appear to be wilting although the picking season is only about to begin. [passage omitted]

The declining quality of the Gaza Strip's citrus fruit is not due to the local residents' inability to maintain the groves or to any significant drop in the groves' profitability. The reason lies in the significantly inferior quality of the agricultural water supplies. Speaking last week at a seminar convened by the Life and Environment Organization, Water Commissioner Dan Zaslavski warned that the water-bearing soil stratum (aquifer) along the coast is undergoing a ruinous process of salinization. Zaslavski added that the Gaza Strip's aquifer, where the rate of salinization is faster, is close to disappearing. "Bit by bit, the strip will be totally unfit for irrigation purposes. They will hardly be able to supply drinking water to the growing population."

The aquifer section between Ashqelon and the Hadera district is hardly in a better state. The scarcity of rain, but mainly the constantly increasing pumping, have contributed to the process of salinization. In rainy years, the aquifer level rises and water flows out. Although the loss of water is undesirable, water flowing out toward the sea at least rinses off the layer of salts. In recent years, the opposite has occurred. As the coastal aquifer's water level goes down, sea water moves in, penetrating the aquifer and creating a solid layer of salt on its walls. Data issued by the water commissioner's bureau reveals that out of the 300 million cubic meters in the coastal aquifer, 60 million are so permeated with salt as to be unsuitable for agriculture or industry, to say nothing of home use.

According to the data, the past five years have seen a process in which annually 20 more of the aquifer's total 1,800 square km have become unproductive. The water commissioner's calculations further show that every cubic meter of water needlessly pumped from the coastal aquifer causes $0.75 in damage to the economy. This sum is quite close to the production cost of desalinated water, which is estimated at $1 per cubic meter.

Just before the rainy season last year, the water commissioner's bureau and Meqorot water company warned of a water deficit of 2 billion cubic meters. No new data has been published since then, but in view of the dry winter in northern Israel last year and the influx of immigrants who have increased the water demand, it can be assumed that the water deficit has become even more serious.

At present, the Lake Tiberias water level is 10 cm above the agreed-on red line; the result is outright damage to the water's quality. Due to the sparse rains in the Lake Tiberias water collection area and the lower-than-average volume of streams flowing into the lake, the lake's salinity rose to 234 mg of chlorine per liter in 1989 through 1991, versus 208 in 1988. If the lake's level suffers a further drop, under minus 212.90 meters, whether as a result of climate conditions or following the water commissioner's instructions, the lake's salty springs are liable either to gush forth at an increased rate or to flow away from the coast—where they can be located and diverted—to sites inside the lake, where they will be uncontrollable.

State Comptroller Miryam Ben-Porat's most recent report about the management of water resources, published last January, dwells on the deteriorating quality of water. The report's grave findings were used by Agriculture Minister Refa'el Eytan as a pretext for firing former Water Commissioner Tzemah Yishay, but even earlier state comptroller reports noted the considerable loss of agricultural irrigation water caused by the large quantities of sewage water which are never cleansed at all. The fact that sewage water is not processed inflicts grave damage on the desperate condition of the water resources. The reports spoke of deteriorating water quality both in the surface and the underground water reservoirs.

Former Water Commissioner Yishay had suggested buying water from Turkey and transporting it in huge plastic tanks towed through the sea. [passage omitted] The new water commissioner, however, has dismissed the idea of imported water. "It may be a good topic for conferences and politicians," he said. "If we are invited to a regional water conference, we will come, but we will not treat its contents seriously. Dealing with a sensitive issue such as water, we cannot afford to rely on Turkey or any other Middle East country."

Zaslavski contended that in the foreseeable future the drinking water problem can be solved only by desalinating sea water and saline water. He claimed that Haifa and its environs, which are almost exclusively dependent on water from Lake Tiberias and are therefore more liable to remain without drinking water, should be given top priority in the supply of desalinated water. [passage omitted]

King Husayn on Madrid Summit, Israeli Settlements

JN2910152491 Amman Radio Jordan in English 1200 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] His Majesty King Husayn expressed hope that the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation will succeed in performing its duties, and said that there is a very wide base in Palestine, Jordan, and the rest of the Arab world to back the delegation's task.

In an interview with the London-based AL-QUDS AL-'ARABI newspaper, published today, his majesty said after all these long years and numerous last opportunities we are proud to have reached a certain stage of awareness that impels us to directly bear our responsibilities as Palestinians and Jordanians. This awareness that has been caused by the long suffering we endured in this part of the world.

Referring to the Jewish settlement issue and its impact on the negotiations process, his majesty said that this was an issue of great importance. He said he thinks that the settlements will be a threatening element to the negotiations process from the beginning, adding: It is illogical to discuss the status of the occupied territories while they are being swallowed through constructing new settlements.

His majesty asserted that while the world condemned building settlements as an obstacle to peace, there should be no additional obstacles by accepting more settlements. He said he believed that the construction of settlements will come to a halt once the negotiations start.

His majesty the king said the scope of our area has changed. He said Israel used to consider itself in the past in the forefront to protect some interests in this area in confrontation with another camp. This other camp no more exists, and Israel's value in the sight of others has changed. Therefore, he added, the future of this region and the form of the solution to its problems will be affected by these elements.

When asked about the increasing responsibilities of Jordan as the confederation becoming more impending, his majesty expressed his belief that the cohesion and solidarity within a family atmosphere that Jordanians and Palestinians belong to, is a source of pride, adding that when he addresses Jordanians, he addresses everybody regardless of their origins, and this was the only remaining thing that animates our hope and the goals of the Great Arab Revolution.

His majesty said that Jerusalem is one of the red lights, and that when speaking about Jerusalem, we mean Arab Jerusalem that was occupied in the 1967 war. But if it was Jerusalem as a holy city, then it is another subject.

King Interviewed on Madrid Conference

JN3010210491 Amman Jordan Television Network in Arabic 1914 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Interview with King Husayn by an unidentified British Independent Television Network correspondent; conducted in English, place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Your Majesty, should people in the West see the Madrid conference as a historic opportunity, or rather as a conference which is being convened primarily under American pressure?

[Husayn] I believe it will be viewed as a historic opportunity and a chance to alter and change many facts in this region that have become so over the years, an attempt and possibly the last attempt to deal with the root cause of the instability in the entire region, the Palestinian-Israeli problem, the Arab-Israeli problem, and I hope it is the end of an unfortunate period of tragic developments affecting human beings in this entire region, and the dawn of a new era.

[Reporter] You say possibly the last opportunity. Why do you say that? That sounds rather apocalyptic to many people?

[Husayn] Because there has been too much suffering, there have been too many fears, there have been too many suspicions. There has been too much spent on the negative aspects of life here in this entire region, and of course, there are those who are behind the scenes and sometimes apparent in their views and in their attempts to destroy the chance for peace. So, it comes at this moment.

[Reporter] Why are the problems of the Middle East proving so intractable when there are so many regions which are succesfully grapling with similar problems?

[Husayn] Unfortunately, again, the passage of time and the accumulation of problems. Maybe the lack of courage to face up to the challenge on either side of the divide, so far. But, I certainly hope that this area will not be moving in an opposite direction to what is happening in the rest of the world. Hence, our enthusiasm and our total commitment to help achieve the comprehensive peace that has been our goal for so, so many years.

[Reporter] You know, as I do, that the settlements in the occupied territories are continuing day by day. What is your response to that?

[Husayn] It is very, very clear that the settlements in occupied territories is in effect an illegal action, and that has created many obstacles in the path of peace over the many years that have passed. So, now if we are about to embark on an attempt to look at the whole issue and everybody's rights, and to arrive at peace based on 242 and 338, land for peace, Palestinian rights on Palestinian soil, the rights of all to live in peace and security in this entire region, and peace with all it offers in terms of opportunities and hopes and chances for peoples to live a life that has never been ours, unfortunately, so far. To continue to build settlements would really be a direct threat to the very process that we are about to embark on.

[Reporter] So, if there are Israeli bulldozers are still working on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday?

[Husayn] I think it will be a very dangerous and ominous development if they do because after all we are discussing the very subject of the land and the people, and their rights, and it will be very difficult for the Arab side, I would have thought, Palestinians and Arabs alike to appear to be acquiescing to the continuation of the creation of further obstacles in the path of peace. I hope that this would be brought under control as soon as possible so that we can begin to address the problems, and hopefully come up with the solution that we all sought over such a long period of time. I believe that we can't afford not to succeed as responsible people, and I believe that the overwhelming majority of people here in Jordan, throughout the region, and maybe even on the Israeli side—we are seeing very positive signs—are fed up with this situation that has prevailed for far too long and are interested in peace.

On the other, if we fail, then I am sure that elements of darkness, and the power-hungry, and, maybe, despair would all combine to bring about the situation that is exactly opposite to everything that is happening in the rest of the world and could threaten this entire region in terms of the present and the future.

[Reporter] So, what we might see is a buildup of frustration, of shattered expectations in the region?

[Husayn] Yes, sir. And, I hope that reasonable people who can see beyond today see the need to destroy the barriers, the walls of hatred, and fear, and suspicion that have unfortunately caused us so much damage on the human level so far and threatened, not only all of us, but generations to come and maybe the world. And, maybe, we will see something emerge. This is the first time that people meet and people talk. And, hopefully, they will be able to address the problem with the help of the rest of the world. And, after all, who would have imagined a short while ago that men, women, and children would tear down the Berlin Wall? I hope that something similar may happen, and maybe this area will enjoy the kind of peace that it has, have been denied for a long, long period of time.

[Reporter] What is your response to Mr. Shamir going to Madrid himself? Some people have seen it as good news because he is a crucial decisionmaker and has the power to strike a deal. Others see it as bad news because he is perceived as a hard-liner. How do you see it?

[Husayn] I see him going as the prime minister of Israel who is at the pinnacle of power in Israel at this stage and responsibility. And, I hope that he will contribute his share to the fullest possible extent for the establishment of a just, comprehensive, durable peace.

[Reporter] A final question, Your Majesty: Do you believe going into the Madrid talks that land for peace is the only formula for the region?

[Husayn] Land for peace is a very, very important aspect of it. But, on the other hand, the important element that could be reached, and should be reached, I believe, is the destruction of all the barriers that have existed for far too long in this entire region. And, I think all of us face a challenge. Israel has to face the challenge of breaking out of the fortress in which it has lived over all the years. The Palestinians have to enjoy their rights over their legitimate soil. And, beyond that, all of us have to know what peace means and what it can provide in the way of opportunities for all of us to live the kind of life that hasn't been ours for far too long. So, there are certain foundations that have to be addressed, obviously. But, beyond that, the opportunities are immense, and I hope that they will be looked at. And, I think that the horizons are before us and one can't really, even now, begin to think of what could happen in a context of the kind of peace that might be the result of this process.

[Reporter] Your Majesty, thank you very much for talking to ITN.

[Husayn] Thank you so much. My pleasure.

Struggle 'Only Alternative' to Conference

JN3010111891 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1100 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] In Amman today, the Muslim Brotherhood organization called for continuing the struggle against the Israeli occupation of Palestine as the only alternative to the Madrid conference, which aims at liquidating the Palestinian cause. Stating this, Ahmad al- Azayidah, the Muslim Brotherhood spokesman in Jordan expressed his opposition to any acts of violence in the Arab countries in protest against the Madrid conference.

Muhammad's Army Defendants Indictment Reported

JN2910162491 Amman SAWT AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Oct 91 p 5

[By Nayif al-Ma'ani]

[Text] Military Judge Lieutenant Colonel Yusuf al-Fa'uri, president of the State Security Court, yesterday chaired the court session at which the depositions of the defendants of what is being called the Muhammad's Army organization were read out—depositions they gave when they were arrested by the General Intelligence men.

The defendants' depositions show that they planned to change the state's constitution through illegitimate means and carry out terrorist operations by using explosives and incendiary material.

Public Prosecutor Major Muhannad Hijazi read the indictment bill against the group's members, charging the defendants with the following:

1. Working to change the state's constitution through illegitimate means in violation of the provisions of Articles 136 and 76 of Penal Code No 16 of 1960. This charge applies to all the defendants.

2. Possessing explosive material (hand grenades, molotov cocktails, explosive canisters, and other explosives) without a licence to use them in an illegal manner and with the purpose of sowing terror and inflicting losses in life and on properties in violation of Article 12/2, 3 of the Explosives Law No. 13 of 1953 and its amendments. This charge applies to the first eight defendants and the 10th, 12th, 15th, 16th, and 17th defendant.

3. Possessing automatic weapons (machine guns and pistols of various types) without a licence and with the purpose of using them in an illegal manner in violation of Article 11/QA of the Law on Firearms and Ammunitions No. 34 of 1952 and its amendments. This charge applies to all the defendants.

4. Attempting premeditated murder in violation of Articles 328/1 and 76 of the Penal Code No. 16 of 1960 and Article 70/1 of the same code. This charge applies to the first eight defendants.

5. Carrying out terrorist operations by using explosives and incendiary material in violation of Articles 148/2,3,5 and Article 76 of the aforementioned penal code. This charge applies to the first eight defendants.

6. Affiliation to an illegal society (the strugglers for the sake of God-Muhammad's Army) in violation of Articles 159 and 160 of the same penal code. This charge applies to all the defendants.

7. Collecting donations and aid for the account of an illegal society (the strugglers for the sake of God) in violation of Article 162 of the same penal code. This charge applies to all the defendants.

8. Using forged licence plates on cars in violation of Article 66/A/4 of the Traffic Law No. 14 of 1984. This charge applies to the first, seventh 11th, 12th, and 13th defendant.

The indictment bill explains that the idea of establishing an armed religious organization for jihad in Jordan was first put forth by the ninth defendant Samih Abu-Zaydan as he had relations with the Muslim Brothers group in 1978 and 1979. In 1986, he met with Dr. 'Abdallah 'Azzam on the latter's return from Afghanistan. After being informed about the state of affairs of the mujahiddin in Afghanistan, the ninth defendant Samih Abu-Zaydan volunteered to collect donations in Jordan in support of the mujahiddin in Afghanistan. He left the country for Afghanistan in 1988 where he met with Dr. 'Abdallah 'Azzam. They agreed with other persons to establish an armed religious organization for jihad in Jordan that will be called the Muslim Mujahiddin and that the ninth defendant Samih Abu-Zaydan would be responsible for this organization's financial affairs.

In 1988 the ninth defendant, Samih Abu-Zaydan, actually began his organizational activity in Jordan by recruiting elements to the organization, and urging them to collect donations under the pretext of extending support for the intifadah in the occupied territories. He gave the organization a new name, the strugglers for the sake of God-Muhammad's Army. This illegal organization includes all the aforementioned defendants.

The ninth defendant, Samih Abu-Zaydan, divided the organization into three wings over which he presided. He appointed tenth defendant Nabil Abu-Harithiyah, fourteenth defendant Salim al- Sa'idi, and sixteenth defendant Khadr Abu-Hawshar, each responsible for a wing. The eleventh defendant Muhammad al-Dajani headed one of these wings for a period of time.

The members of the organization, including the eleventh defendant Muhammad al-Dajani, began to collect donations from mosques in Jordan under various pretexts, including extending support for the mujahidin in Afghanistan and the intifadah in the occupied territories. Instead of using the money for the declared purpose, the defendants purchased various fire arms—machine guns, pistols, various detonation devices, ammunition, silencers, explosive canisters, and other things—for use in illegal objectives inside Jordan. The objective of the aforementioned defendants became to establish the caliphate state in Jordan by changing the constitution through illegal means, carrying out terrorist actions inside Jordan by using weapons and explosive devices, attacking foreign interests in various parts of the country, bars, night clubs, and attacking individuals and possessions, including individuals and possessions belonging to the security organs in Jordan.

In preparation for that, the defendants were trained in the use of firearms—machine guns and pistols. They were trained in breaking down and reassembling weapons, and in shooting. This took place in various parts of the country, including 'Iraq al-Amir, and an empty area close to al-Qasr in al-Karak in addition to other remote areas. They were also trained on preparing and using explosives (acetone peroxide) and various explosive canisters through books and notes they circulated among themselves. The tenth defendant Nabil Abu- Harithiyah was responsible for training the defendants. Assisting him in training were the following defendants: the first Fu'ad Da'nah, the second Jawad al-Faqih, the eleventh Muhammad al-Dajani, the fourteenth Salim al-Sa'idi, the sixteenth Khadr Abu-Hawshar, and the seventeenth Ziyad Kashar.

Training included, among other things, physical fitness, and how to operate at night while remaining undetected.

The first defendant, Fu'ad Da'na, the second Jawab al-Faqih, the 11th Muhammad al-Dajani, the 12th Ibrahim Abu-Salma, and the 23th Yusuf Abu-'Ali started to carry out reconnaissance operations of the places and people targetted for the operations. These reconnaissance activities included: The first defendant Fu'ad Da'na, assigned by the 11th defendant Ibrahim Abu-Salma made a reconnaisance of a military barracks near the al-Husayn Medical Center in order to attack it and steal arms for the organization. He later found that it was impossible to implement this. The first and third defendants Fu'ad Da'na and Habis Sandoqah conducted a reconnaissance mission of Sweet Supermarket near the fifth circle in order to carry out an operation against the supermarket's accountant. Reconnassance was also made of the residence of the Canadian ambassador in 'Abdun valley by the second defendant Jawad al-Faqih, the fifth Khalid Hamid, the 11th Muhammad al-Dajani, and the 14th Salim al-Sa'idi as a prelude to assassinating him. Other reconnaissance activities were also carried out by some defendants, but remained under study and planning and were not implemented for reasons beyond their control.

On 28 Januanry 1991, the second defendant Jawad, assigned by the 11th defendant Muhammad al-Dajani in his capacity as head of one of the organization's wings, gave an RPG rocket to the first defendant Fu'ad in order to kill priest Kamil Najib 'Awdah Haddad by booby-trapping his car, a Toyota Corolla, license number 299366. The first defendant Fu'ad, in cooperation with the third defendant Habis, placed the rocket under the priest's car, which was parked in the garage of his house, in the al-Jandawil area, late at night. It was placed so that it would explode when the car wheel passed over a device connecting the electrical current with the rocket. After placing the rocket, they left the place. On the morning of the same day, the priest's wife, Muna Yusuf Haddad, entered the car and sat behind the steering wheel and her daughter Nancy, 21 years old, sat next to her, to go to a bookshop. As the car reversed out of the garage, the rocket exploded and Nancy was seriously injured in her left leg and on the left side of her head. She got an initial medical report and is still receiving medical treatment. The car was seriously damaged and had to be scrapped. Material damage was also caused to the house as a result of the explosion.

During March 1991, and assigned by the second defendant Jawad, the sixth defendant Muhammad Khalifa received a Kalashinkov machinegun from the second defendant Jawad. Late at night, the fifth defendant Khalid, the eighth 'Amir, and the sixth Muhammad opened fire at Walid Lutfi Mini Market for selling alcoholic drinks, causing material damage to the shop window and some of the shop's contents.

At 0300 of 11 July 1991 and following the arrest of some of the defendants by the Directorate of General Intelligence, the first defendant Fu'ad and the fourth Mustafa, assigned by the 11th defendant Muhammad al-Dajani, placed an explosive device weighing 2 kg of the highly explosive acetone peroxide under the car of First Lieutenant 'Isa Muhammad Naji, from the General Intelligence cadre, while it was parked in front of his house in Bayadir Wadi al-Sayr. They then returned to the place they came from.

The session was adjourned until next Monday.

Hizballah Stages Anti-Conference Demonstrations

*NC3010123191 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic
1130 GMT 30 Oct 91*

[Text] In Beirut, Hizballah demonstrations began outside the Law College building in al-Sana'i' in denunciation of the peace conference. The marchers roamed the streets of al-Hamra, 'Ayn al- Muraysah, and Zuqaq al-Balat as far as Beirut's southern suburb.

Palestinian women's organizations also staged a sit-in at the Red Cross center in Sidon and raised placards denouncing the Madrid conference. Strikes also were staged in a number of camps in the south. Placards and black flags also were raised.

Hizballah Reiterates Denunciation of Madrid

*NC3110091291 (Clandestine) Voice of the
Oppressed in Arabic to Lebanon 0630 GMT 31 Oct 91*

[Excerpts] There was a massive popular response yesterday to Hizballah's call for demonstrations protesting against the treason and the capitulation to U.S. and Zionist plans. Tens of thousands marched from the Law College in al-Sana'i' to the partly demolished U.S. Embassy.

His Eminence al-Sayyid 'Abbas al- Musawi, Hizballah secretary general, addressed the demonstrators. He saluted their vigilance and heroism and said they embody the conscience of the Islamic and Arab people.

His eminence said: Enough disregard for the pride and dignity of this nation. To those who used to consider themselves adversaries of Israel, his eminence said: What dignity do they have left? Why did they agree to the Israeli demands?

'Abbas al-Musawi said the Gulf Cooperation Council and Arab Maghreb countries have agreed to be part of the conspiracy, and that some Palestinian officials have agreed to be submissive participants in the conference. Hizballah's secretary general said the nation will continue its jihad work in Palestine and Lebanon regardless of the subservience shown by the Arabs in Madrid.

'Abbas al-Musawi said: We are a nation of a billion Muslims. We are the major nation in this region, whereas the Jews are an alien and temporary entity. It is our judgment that the Jews should leave the region. The state of Palestine will be established over the entire land of Palestine. [passage omitted]

Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, leader of the Islamic Unification Movement, also addressed the demonstrators. He questioned the possibility of reaching a settlement with God's enemies, America and Israel. He said: On this ominous day of submission and shame, let us state our complete rejection in advance of any resolutions that may be passed by the Madrid conference. The Arab leaders should open the borders for people like us to reach out to the intifadah heroes and stand up for their just cause. Shaykh Sha'ban concluded by saying: A nation that holds martyrdom to be its most cherished sacrifice should not succumb to weakness and capitulation.

In an interview with our radio, His Eminence Ayatollah Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah said that the first Arab and Muslim casualty of the conference is the implicit recognition of the Zionist entity's occupation of Palestine, which the Arabs and Palestinians made when they agreed to sit with representatives of the Zionist entity. Fadlallah said: The Madrid conference aims at extending recognition to the Zionist entity when Israel refuses to withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967.

For his part, al-Sayyid Husayn al-Musawi, leader of the Islamic Amal Movement, said the so-called peace conference in Madrid is a conference for Israel's peace. He said the Jews have a biblical commitment to a state that extends from the Nile to the Euphrates. He added that millions of Americans are committed to promoting the interests of Israel and the Jews. Addressing those who believe in the existence of a genuine difference between the United States and Israel over loan guarantees, Husayn al-Husayni said that what matters is whether any such difference will surface at the conference table and whether any pressure will be exerted on Israel. He added: A confrontation between Israel and America is unthinkable.

The leader of the Islamic Amal Movement described the Arab participants in the Madrid conference, whether members or observers, as instruments for the implementation of U.S. designs. The exception, he said, is the Syrian negotiator, in whose integrity we trust.

Other Groups Denounce Meeting

*NC3110080791 (Clandestine) Voice of the
Oppressed in Arabic to Lebanon 0630 GMT 31 Oct 91*

[Excerpts] The Syrian Social Nationalist Party—Higher Council has called on its members to take part in all the marches and vigils organized to express the people's anger at and rejection of the Madrid conspiracy. The party said that armed struggle and resistance are national duties which should not be abandoned and must be reinforced. The party called for forming a broad front of various forces to confront the Zionist designs. [passage omitted]

The Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine has issued a statement calling for a jihad to liberate Palestine and the Aqsa mosque, symbols of the nation's Koran and faith. The movement rejected the capitulation conference in Madrid and called for cementing unity in the face of U.S. injustice, arrogance, and tyranny.

Syria's Khaddam Reportedly To Visit 31 Oct

*NC3110065791 (Clandestine) Radio Free Lebanon
in Arabic 0545 GMT 31 Oct 91*

[Text] AL-SAFIR reports that Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al- Halim Khaddam will visit Beirut today for talks with President Ilyas al-Hirawi, Chamber of Deputies Speaker Husayn al-Husayni, and Prime Minister 'Umar Karami on the developments in Lebanon and the region in the light of the international peace conference.

Khaddam Meets al-Hirawi

NC3110102891 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1015 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam arrived at the temporary presidential offices a short while ago accompanied by Brigadier General Ghazi Kan'an, chief of Syrian intelligence in Lebanon. Khaddam and Kan'an met immediately with President Ilyas al-Hirawi.

Spanish Embassy Tightens Security

NC3010201991 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 2000 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Citing a source in the Lebanese security forces, AFP reported today that the Spanish Embassy in Beirut has intensified its security measures after receiving telephone threats. The agency added that most of the Western and Arab embassies in Lebanon have adopted stringent security measures.

Israeli Shelling Causes Damage, Cuts Power

NC3110074491 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 0530 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] The Israeli aggression against the liberated areas continues to escalate. The aggression involved shelling scores of liberated areas while the Israeli siege on the towns of Arnun and Yuhmur in al-Shaqif continues.

According to reports from the south, Israel threatened to attack southern areas. The militia [Lahd's] radio said the Israeli Army will carry out a series of operations in the south and that those who support the resistance fighters will pay dearly.

The enemy in the past few hours reportedly has fired more than 300 various heavy-caliber shells. Most of the shells fell on al- Nabatiyah and its environs, especially in Kafr Rumman, Habbush, Jibshit, al-Kufur, Zawtar al-Sharqiyah and Zawtar al-Gharbiyah, and also on Qa'qa'iyat al-Jisr, the Karf Tibnit road, Harish, Bra'shit, Haddathah, Shaqra, Yatar, the (Maryamin) forests, (al-Tawin), Qabrikha, Tulin, Majdal Silm, Tibnin, al-Luwayzah, 'Arab Salim, Habbush, Mlita, Jabal Safi, Qilya, al-Dallafah, Libbaya, Zillaya, 'Ayn al-Tinah, and Maydun.

This shelling frightened the citizens, many of whom moved out of the targeted areas, especially from al-Nabatiyah and areas around it, which were completely paralyzed yesterday. The shelling also caused heavy damage to houses and property and set many cars, fields, and farms on fire. It also hit al-Nabatiyah's power plant, disrupting the power supply to the city and the surrounding areas.

Continued Operations Reported

NC3110100591 Beirut Radio Lebanon in Arabic 0900 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Israeli jet planes flew at low altitude over the city of Sidon and the areas east of the city this morning. They also flew over al-Nabatiyah and Iqlim al-Tuffah.

In another development, occupation forces artillery emplaced in the occupied border strip shelled the villages north of the strip for 12 hours last night. Shells fell on the towns of Shaqra and Qabrikha, damaging property.

Western al-Biqa' was shelled at dawn today. Shells fell on the approaches to the town of 'Ayn al-Tinah, the outskirts of Mashgharah, Birkat al-Jabbur, and Maydun. This prompted the resistance to respond by firing Katyushas at Israeli vehicles assembled on the Ibil al-Saqy plain and three other positions between Marj 'Uyn and al-Khiyam.

Immediately afterward, the occupation forces cordoned off the targeted area. No casualties or damage have as yet been reported.

Al-Asad Receives Saudi Ambassador to U.S.

JN2810162491 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1615 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] At 1500 today, President Hafiz al-Asad received His Highness Prince Bandar Bin-Sultan, Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States and envoy of King Fahd Fahd Bin-'Abd-al-'Aziz, custodian of the two holy mosques.

Madrid Conference, Peace Requirements Viewed

JN3010163091 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic Radio Network in Arabic 1240 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Station commentary]

[Text] Gentlemen: Observers are unanimous that the Madrid conference, which opened today, is a historic event. For the first time since the start of the Arab-Zionist conflict, all concerned parties are meeting face to face, and the whole world is putting all its weight behind this event. Moreover, the presidents of the two superpowers insisted on attending in person and delivering two inaugural speeches to express the importance which they, as well as the international community, attach to the attainment of security and peace in the Middle East. The Arabs, including Syria which is a major party to the conference, headed for Madrid, demonstrating a high sense of responsibility, driven by a true desire to build a just and comprehensive peace.

In his interview with the U.S. television station CNN, President al-Asad expressed the Arab nation's aspirations and yearnings when he focused on the importance of bringing about a just and comprehensive peace—a peace that would restore all rights to their lawful owners and end many long years of occupation, injustice, and coercion. President al-Asad indicated that the success of the Madrid conference is contingent upon the intentions of the Israeli Government, and also on its willingness to engage itself in the peace process, implement UN resolutions, and terminate its constant aggression against the Arab nation, which has continued for more than 40 years. He who follows the phases and developments of the Arab-Zionist conflict clearly feels the Arabs' faith in peace, and their persistent endeavors to rid the Middle East region of the whirlpool of wars and explosions. On 6 October 1973, President al-Asad declared that Syria does not fight out of a destructive spirit, but rather to defend peace. Likewise, in his CNN interview, the president made it clear that Syria does not seek destruction, but rather strongly yearns for a true peace, for a just and comprehensive peace that would end the Israeli occupation, and secure for the Palestinian people their legitimate national rights.

The Arabs are the victims of aggression. Moreover, their lands are occupied. The Palestinian people have been displaced, and their rights have been usurped. Peace requires, first and foremost, the elimination of all manifestations of injustice, aggression, repression, and occupation.

Over the past years, the Arabs have displayed commitment to UN resolutions. They have relentlessly urged the world community to discharge its responsibilities and implement its resolutions. Meanwhile, Israel defied the world community and its resolutions, and declared its refusal to commit itself to implementing any of these resolutions, or even to honor international principles and charters. If there is a party that needs to introduce measures designed to foster trust, it is the Israeli side, considering that it is the aggressor that has been persisting in its aggression in total contravention of the international law and Security Council resolutions.

The Madrid conference is convening on the basis of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the land-for-peace formula, as well. For their part, the Arabs have demonstrated a genuine willingness to bring about peace. In contrast, Israel has not thus far displayed any readiness to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and enable the Palestinian people to exercise their inalienable national rights. Israel has even continued to pursue a large-scale settlement drive in the occupied territories in violation of the Geneva Convention and international resolutions. Observers have not concealed their pessimism that the Israeli negotiating delegation might torpedo the conference, and thus waste an historic opportunity for peace in the Middle East.

When President al-Asad announced that the success of the Madrid conference is contingent upon the intentions of the Israeli Government, he hit the nail on the head. The Arabs, as we have already mentioned, are the victims of aggression. Their lands are occupied. It is totally out of the question for the Arabs to give up their rights and lands, and to sacrifice the future of the Palestinian people to satisfy Israel's expansionist and aggressive ambitions and schemes. Israel is the party which should be asked to succumb to international legitimacy and its resolutions. It is the party which should be asked to abandon the course based on aggression, expansionism, and wars, and engage itself in the peace process, and all of its just requirements; namely, withdrawal from Arab lands, redressing grievances of the Palestinian people, and removing the injustice, and repression plaguing them. The world community is urged to implement its resolutions, impose its will, show its credibility, and vindicate justice and right. When right and justice prevail, we can then say that the Madrid conference will have truly become an historic event and allowed for the creation of new era in the Middle East—an era based on peace, amity, and prosperity.

Afghanistan

Protest Conveyed Over Pakistani Attacks on Dams

LD2910084891 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] The charge d'affaires of Pakistan's embassy in Kabul was summoned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan today. A protest note from the Republic of Afghanistan was handed to him by the head of the Foreign Ministry's First Political Department. The text follows:

Based on reliable information and undeniable evidence, Pakistani militarists and officers, in line with their flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the Republic, attempted to damage or destroy the hydroelectric power dams at Neghlo, Daronta, and Kajakay. This was confirmed by Hazrat-e Sebghatollah Mojaddedi in his speech made on 24 October.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan, having strongly protested such actions by Pakistani militarists, which manifest that country's policy of interference and are against all accepted international norms and standards, calls on responsible authorities in Pakistan to prevent such destructive operations.

President Receives UN Special Envoy Sevan

LD2910205591 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Pashto 1530 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] The Press Office of the Presidency has reported to BAKHTAR that esteemed Najibollah, president of Afghanistan, received this afternoon in the presidential office His Excellency Benon Sevan, under secretary general and special envoy of His Excellency Javier Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, and coordinator of the UN's economic and humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan.

At this meeting Benon Sevan briefed the president of Afghanistan on Perez de Cuellar's report on Afghanistan that was presented to the 46th session of the UN General Assembly. He also passed on information about the UN endeavors concerning the political and peaceful solution of the relevant issues of Afghanistan as well as the recent developments in this area.

In expressing satisfaction and pleasure over the efforts made by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to achieve an acceptable approach to the solution of the Afghanistan issue, esteemed Najibollah once again explained in detail to Benon Sevan the Republic of Afghanistan's stance vis-a-vis the spirit of the UN secretary general's statement on Afghanistan and the joint Soviet- U.S. statement on Afghanistan on ending the war and restoring peace.

The esteemed president of Afghanistan explained the views and mechanisms presented by the Republic of Afghanistan on continuing and broadening the dialogue among Afghans for achieving understanding between Afghans for a nationwide peace so that the war and bloodshed end and so that peace, which is the people's immediate and important demand, is restored as soon as possible. Esteemed Najibollah expressed hope that the United Nations would further extend its efforts in this respect.

Presidential aide Mohammad Tokhi was also present at this meeting.

Prime Minister Receives Sevan

LD3010064491 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0508 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Kabul, Oct 29, BAKHTAR—Fazl Haq Khaleqyar, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan [RA], met Benon Sevan, special envoy of the UN secretary general and coordinator of the UN humanitarian and economic assistance to Afghanistan, in the prime ministry palace today, reports the prime ministry press department to BAKHTAR.

During the meeting, Benon Sevan informed Premier Khaleqyar on the continuation of the good offices of the UN secretary general, aimed at seeking ways for a political solution of the Afghan issue, cooperation in acceleration of the process of understanding and intra Afghan dialogue, results of his recent visits to the countries of the region, as well as the report of the UN secretary general submitted lately to the UN General Assembly.

Reciprocally, Premier Khaleqyar spoke on the development of the situation in Afghanistan in the light of the UN peace plan, as well as on the peaceful measures of the RA state in different socio-economic fields, understanding, and closeness, particularly among Afghans for the cessation of war in the country.

Prime Minister Khaleqyar once again stressed the support of the Afghan Government and people to the UN peace plan as well as the desire of the world community for the political settlement of the Afghan problem. He vowed the ever further cooperation of the RA government for the success of the attempts of the UN secretary general and his special envoy.

Benon Sevan, in the continuation of his visits to the region aimed at exchanging views for seeking a political settlement of the Afghan conflict, has arrived in Kabul today.

Planning Minister Meets With Soviet Delegation

LD3010070291 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0517 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Kabul, Oct. 29, BAKHTAR—Talks on the economic, commercial and technical cooperation between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union began here today.

The Afghan delegation at the talks is headed by Ghulam Muhayuddin Shahbaz, RA [Republic of Afghanistan] planning minister, and the Soviet delegation by H.E. Aleksandr Ivanovich Kachanov, the caretaker of Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations of the Soviet Union. The talks take place in the framework of the tenth periodical session of the Afghan-Soviet joint economic commission on technical and economic cooperation. The meeting was attended in addition to the members of delegation, by B.N. Pastukhov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Soviet Union in Kabul and caretaker of the economic consulate of that embassy, and from the Afghan side, by the deputy ministers of foreign affairs, planning, commerce, finance, transport, mines and industries and presidents of the central administration on private investment development, direct cooperation administration of the Council of Ministers, and the leading body of the Ministry of Planning.

First, the minister of planning explained briefly the prevailing socio-economic situation in Afghanistan and stressed on the need of the continuation of the Soviet economic, commercial and cultural cooperation to Afghanistan.

The session was held in relation to the delivery of gratis and commercial foodstuffs, fuels, spare parts, needed by the developmental projects and other needed materials from Soviet Union to Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union was demanded to fully fulfill its commitments in this field up to the end of the year 1991, as per protocols concluded earlier between the two countries.

Likewise, the issues pertaining to the completion of a number of economic and productive projects in Afghanistan, cooperation in equipping a number of industrial productive projects and rendering necessary services, sending experts, training Afghan cadres, expansion of direct cooperation of Afghanistan with the republics of the Soviet Union, cooperation in strengthening the private sector in Afghanistan and fulfillment of the proclaimed share of the Soviet Union in the long-term economic cooperation projects and a number of other financial and economic issues were all-sidedly discussed.

Continuation of cooperation and fulfilling of the Soviet commitments in the areas mentioned earlier, especially under the present critical situation, were mentioned during the talks.

Specific and rational information in relation to the continuation of economic, trade, cultural and technical assistance of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan for 1992 as well as requirements of Afghanistan to foodstuffs, petroleum, equipments and spare parts, postponement of the Soviet debts granted to Afghanistan in 1991, Soviet experts activites, granting scholarships, and debts were informed to the Soviet side.

Reciprocally Kachanov, while assuring the Afghan side in connection to the continuation and extension of economic, trade and technical assistance of his country to Afghanistan, said that the Soviet Union will fulfill all its commitments about the delivery of gratis assistance during the current year to Afghanistan. During the remaining months of the year 1991, fixed quantities of foodstuffs, petroleum and projects equipment will be delivered to the Afghan side, he said.

He, besides confirming the need and importance of continuation of Soviet economic assistance to Afghanistan for the year 1992, said the Soviet Union will continue her cooperation and after assessing and fixing of the correct volume of requirements, the matter after mutual understandings, will be submitted and informed to the concerned authorities for traversing aftermath consequences, of his country. [sentence as received]

As per another report, the talks of the economic and technical delegations of the Soviet Union continue as per the time-frame with concerned Afghan sides, and at the end a protocol on continuation of economic, technical, and commercial cooperation will be signed between the two countries.

Tajik Delegation Meets With Peace Front Official

LD3010203491 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0446 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Kabul, Oct 29, BAKHTAR—'Abdul Qudus Ghorbandi, chairman of the Unity Council of Afghan Peace Front (APF), met the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Etefaq-i-Jawanan delegation (Youth Union) headed by Qurbanov Noor Ali Haiderovich, chairman of that union.

A BAKHTAR reporter reported, during the meeting, Ghorbandi shed light on the performances, structure and objects of the APF. He also explained APF activities for the realisation of National Reconciliation Policy (NRP) and ensurance of peace all over the country.

Reciprocally, Haiderovich spoke on the activities of his union and historical relations between the peoples of the Tajik SSR and RA [Republic of Afghanistan].

Expansion of relations and cooperation between the two unions were also discussed during the meeting.

Protocol Signed With Youth Union

LD3010202391 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0432 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Kabul, Oct. 29, BAKHTAR—A protocol of cooperation between the Afghanistan Youth Union (AYU) and the Etefaq-i-Jawanan (Youth Solidarity) Organisation of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] was concluded at the headquarters of this union here today.

The protocol on the Afghan side was signed by Mohd Ibrahim [name as received], chairman of the AYU, and on the Tajik side by Haiderovich, chairman of the Etafaq-i-Jawanan Organisation of that republic.

As per the protocol, cooperation between the two organisations in the scientific, cultural, economic and educational areas wil be further strengthened.

Also, facilities for the treatment of the Afghan youth, disabled and invalids, will be provided in the Tajik hospitals and sanatoriums.

According to another report the Tajik delegation visited a youths' sports township in the capital.

At the end of the visit gifts of the Afghan young sportsmen were presented to the members of the delegation.

Prime Minister's 22 Oct Speech to Wolasi Jerga

LD2510113791 Kabul Radio Afghanistan Network in Dari 1630 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Report by Prime Minister Fazl Haq Khaleqyar on the government's achievements during the first six months of the year, to the Wolasi Jerga in Kabul on 22 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Your Excellency Dr. Khalil Ahmad Abawi, president of the Wolasi Jerga, and esteemed representatives of the nation:

I would like to express my pleasure that, at the initiative of you representatives of the nation, the opportunity has been made availible to me and to members of the government to meet you and present a report on the important issues facing the country and the life of our people. The situation that has developed over recent months has also led me to feel the need to meet the esteemed members of the Wolasi Jerga and exchange views with them.

Esteemed members of the Wolasi Jerga, I and members of the government regard the Wolasi Jerga members' concern about the problems of meeting the day-to-day needs of the people as a sign of their sympathy and care for the welfare of a nation that has with perseverence and steadfastness suffered the miseries of war for more than a decade. When I utter these words, great pain and bitter scenes come to my mind. I am sure that you feel the same. Unfortunately, these things have not yet been consigned to the pages of history. The war continues. Every minute, every hour, every day gives birth to a tragedy. War, by its very definition, brings about disaster, destruction, hunger, and poverty.

I am not uttering these words to justify a shortcoming or to make someone apathetic. On the contrary, I would like to emphasize that God has given humans the ability to resist hardship and the wisdom to search for paths to prosperity.

Dear deputies, I do not consider any goal higher than peace, calm, and prosperity for this country and its people. Based on this principle and in light of the Meli Shura resolutions, the government regards meeting the needs of the people—no matter under whose control they live—as being at the top of its agenda. As you esteemed deputies know, since the beginning of the year the foremost concern of the government, ministries, and administrations has been to resolve the problem of the people's need for staple goods. The work of many regular sessions of the Council of Ministers and of its special commissions has been totally devoted to these problems and to measures to resolve them.

No one can deny, however, that there are still many unresolved problems. I am referring here to the shortfall in the distribution of flour to coupon holders and to the shortages of fuel for consumers. In connection with the distribution of goods to coupon holders, it should be said that since 1988 there has been an annual shortfall in the distribution of flour. The shortfalls of 1988 and 1989 were made up in 1990 and the shortfall of the last part of 1990 was made up in 1991. A series of objective elements, especially a temporary stoppage of the delivery of wheat from abroad, led to the painful shortfall in the distribution of flour. So far, the rationing for up to Sawr [beginning 20 April] has been distributed to all institutions. As for the families of martyrs and the disabled, it has been distributed up to the month of Sonbola [beginning 22 August] and the distribution of the general ration for Jawza [beginning 21 May] is under way.

Since the start of Mizan [beginning 22 September] the amount of flour for distribution has been raised from 100 tonnes per day to 200 tonnes. In no way can this amount meet the need. As a result of the actions taken, the government hopes that after the delivery of the wheat purchased from western countries, the Soviet Union, and India and of the wheat imported by the national traders, as well as purchases from domestic sources, the situation regarding the distribution of flour to consumers will become normal in the near future.

The distribution of other items rationed by coupon has been carried out in the capital in the following manner: sugar up to Mizan; cooking oil up to Sonbola; tea up to Mizan; soap up to Mizan.

In addition to this, a quantity of other goods, such as salt, peas, biscuits, live chickens, and notebooks, has been distributed to coupon-holders in exchange for supplementary slips in the coupon booklet. [passage omitted]

In a number of provinces such as Fariab, Nangarhar, Badakhshan, Paktia, Badghis, Zabol, and Ghowr, cash has been paid at specific rates to coupon-holders instead of their wheat, cooking oil, sugar, tea, and soap rations. In addition to the dispatch of 120 million afghanis in cash, six tonnes of tea, 16 tonnes of cooking oil, and 32 tonnes of sugar have been transported to Badakhshan Province by air. The dispatch of goods to this province by the official in charge of supply has been continuing. In addition, an accord on the delivery of 8,000 tonnes of wheat and 500 tonnes of sugar, in the form of direct assistance to this province, has been concluded with the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

During 1369 [beginning 21 March 1990) and the first six months of 1370, supply convoys were dispatched to Fariab, Ghazni, Paktia, Badghis, Ghowr, Farah, Helmand, Nimroz, Nangarhar, Laghman, and Zabol Provinces.

Through purchases both by the government and the private sector, all available means inside and outside the country have been used to supply basic goods, to stabilize the market, and to keep prices stable. Obviously, in recent years, nearly all the wheat and petroleum products needed by Afghanistan were imported from the Soviet Union either by way of grants-in-aid or through commercial contracts. This situation has arisen as a result of various factors. For example, in the current year, contracts and protocols have been concluded for the delivery here of 230,000 tonnes of wheat, 100,000 tonnes of gasoline, 250,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, 20,000 tonnes of kerosene, 120,000 tonnes of TC1 oil, 1,000 tonnes of liquid gas, and some 1,200 tonnes of lubricating oil. Over half of the goods already mentioned are grants-in-aid and the rest is covered by commercial contracts.

During the first six months of the year, about 57 percent of the goods included in the contracts were delivered to the Afghan side. The delivery of the remaining goods is under way. In addition to this, we have asked for the delivery of 100,000 tonnes of wheat, 80,000 tonnes of gasoline, 90,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, and 70,000 tonnes of kerosene and TC1 oil, in addition to the previous contracts.

Regarding the instances of interruptions or delays in the delivery of goods in recent months, I would like to say openly that this does not mean the disruption of Afghan-Soviet economic and commercial relations or a Soviet refusal to meet its commitments arising from the agreements and protocols that have been concluded. On the contrary, on many occasions the Soviet leadership has informed the international community, including the Republic of Afghanistan—in particular during my visit there—that the Soviet Government will carry out without any hesitation all its commitments arising from bilateral and multilateral agreements in all fields of international relations. What is in fact happening in the economic, commercial, scientific, and technical Afghan-Soviet relations is that the structure is changing under the influence of profound all-around reforms in this country.

In the past, Soviet economic and commercial relations with foreign countries were determined and guided by one center only, while today this authority is mostly vested with the republics, with production and commercial unions. The administrative system and the officials in the departments are being changed. These changes naturally effect the system of accounting, payments, and delivery in the area of cooperation with foreign countries. Some short interruptions and delays can occur and occasionally serious alterations may be possible. We should not ignore that the Soviet economy, as a major economy in the world, plays a major role not only in the economy of neighboring countries but also in the world economy. However, it is obvious that the current transformations in that country will enhance the flexibility of its economy and its ability to integrate with its component republics and with the economy of other countries. This will surely open up vast areas, prospects, and possibilities for economic and commercial cooperation between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union and its component republics, in particular the neighboring republics.

Esteemed delegates, in order to meet satisfactorily the immediate needs of the country for petroleum products, in Asad [beginning 23 July] of the current year, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan decided to secure the participation of the private sector in the importation of petroleum products by granting the private sector permission to import, transport, [word indistinct], and sell the above goods on the open market. [passage omitted]

It did not take long after the adoption of the new policy until our patriotic and faithful Afghan traders concluded dozens of major contracts for the purchase of wheat and petroleum products from the most favorable international markets. According to the information we have so far, contracts have been concluded for the purchase and delivery of 200,000 tonnes of wheat by the Qarshi market, 200,000 tonnes of wheat by Golaboddin Sherzai company, and 100,000 tonnes of wheat by Qari Yunis company.

The cooking oil and soap company and the companies of Bazdedwal, Ensejam, Naem Inc., Arman Inc., and Farid Nasir Inc. have taken the initiative to conclude contracts for the purchase of 85,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, 35,000 tonnes of gasoline, and over 10,000 tonnes of kerosene with the commercial enterprises of Tyumen and [name indistinct] of the Soviet Union on open market principles. [passage omitted]

On the basis of these contracts, 7,000 tonnes of gasoline, diesel, and kerosene arrived two weeks ago and their distribution in the country's regions began. Every day we hear reports about the conclusion of new contracts and new offers. A large group of national traders has travelled to the Gulf region and to the Soviet Union in search of markets and to conclude contracts. [passage omitted]

Esteemed members of the Wolasi Jerga, a sufficient quantity of ghee, sugar, tea, soap, and other basic goods are being imported and stocked through the state and private sectors to supply the market and to be regularly distributed to coupon holders until the end of the current year [ending 20 March 1992]. I do not think that there is any need for more detail in this respect. These stocks do not include those which are kept for exceptional circumstances. The state also envisages buying surplus agricultural products in some of the provinces, that is, the purchase of 170,000 tonns of wheat, 14,000 tonnes of rice, 1,300 tonnes of beans, 1,100 tonnes of chick peas, 800 tonnes of pulses, and so on. Comparative figures show that in the first six months of this year, 23,000 tonnes more wheat was bought than in the same period last year. Under the present circumstances, it is very important to make effective use of the possibilities and internal reserves of the state and private sectors in the national economy. Over recent months, as a result of the hard work of the experts and workers at the central bakery and through changes in machinery and technology, flour production has risen from 410 tonnes to 450 tonnes per day. This helped to increase the number of bread distribution kiosks in Kabul from 60 to 140 and the number of loaves baked per day to be raised to 27,000. The central bakery distributes as much as 50 tonnes of flour to the city's bakeries to help supply cheap bread to the city's poorer strata.

Regretfully, it should be said that the distribution system is not satisfactory. Over the past year, the private sector has set up four bakeries in Kabul, with a total capacity of 4,300 tonnes of bread, and two others in the provinces, with a total capacity of 3,240 tonnes of bread. Private sector bread factories supply 18,000 loaves of bread to institutions in the city and to the surroundings of Kabul. Three more bakeries, with a total capacity of 3,000 tonnes of bread, will start production by the end of the year (20 March 1992). In addition to the bread bakeries, three private factories of food production, such as biscuits, pasta, and so on, with suitable capacities have started production over the past year.

Esteemed deputies, even in the existing war situation, in view of the fact that agriculture and livestock breeding constitute the principal source of food production in the country, efforts have been made to improve the supply of agricultural, irrigation, and husbandry services. Over the past seven months of the current year, about 4,000 tonnes of chemical fertilizer, 2,119 tonnes of cotton seed, 18 tonnes of beetroot seed, and 1.02 tonnes of vegetable seed, as well as pesticides and veterinary medicine worth 522.4 million afghanis, have been distributed to the farmers of the country.

Despite last winter's cold weather, the frequent hail, the serious shortage of wheat seed and phosphates, the floods, the continuation of the war, the shortage of manpower, and a series of other similar factors, there is room for cautious optimism. There are signs of the good news of a rise in agricultural production and a plentiful year.

It has been assessed that 1,726,000 tonnes of wheat is being harvested this year. This is 25,000 tonnes more than planned. It is hoped that the production of other materials—vegetable, fruit, and dairy products—will also have a proportionate increase. In the first six months of the year, two modern poultry projects have started production. The Badam Bagh Poultry Project, with a capacity of 33,600 chickens, 244 tonnes of meat, and 7.4 million eggs, has so far supplied the market with 17,000 two-month-old chickens weighing 1.5 kg each. In the Bagrami poultry project, 15,000 chickens are being reared for market and 10,000 others for stock production for meat and eggs. Efforts are being made around the Rishkhor milk cow project, with a capacity of 500 cows, to start production by the end of the current year. Under approvals already granted, the private sector will start production at three husbandry projects in Jowzjan and another poultry project in Kabul by the end of the current year. The conclusion of work on a modern Commerce Ministry cooling house with a capacity of 2,000 tonnes will remove problems caused by meat shortages every winter and early spring by stocking throughout the season.

Therefore, we can describe the current year as fruitful and unprecedented in terms of the development of the food industry, especially in the private sector.

Esteemed members of the Wolasi Jerga, another issue that concerns our compatriots is the supply of fuel in winter. Over the years of war, the balance of electricity production and fuel has changed in an unprecedented manner. The supply of wood and charcoal from traditional sources to the cities and centers of population has either become very limited or has ceased completely. The replacement of these items by electricity and liquid fuel, the increase in population in the cities, and the gradual wear and tear in the electricity network and installations as a result of increased consumption have caused many problems that need to be resolved. [passage omitted]

The situation regarding electricity production and distribution during the first six months of the current year has been satisfactory compared to previous years. Due to the suitable flow of water during this period, electricity has been distributed to all cities and centers using hydroelectric power without cessation, whereas in previous years this period did not last for more than four months. Over the first six months of the year, 529.4 million kilowatts per hour was produced, which is 35.11 percent aboveplan. In this catagory the production of electricity in the season of plentiful water rose to more than 517 million kilowatts per hour. Patriotic experts, engineers, and workers of the Ministry of Water and Electricity have implemented a broad construction, repair, and upgrading program to ensure the regular functioning of networks and installations, especially in winter.

The 110 kilovolt Sarobi-Kabul line has been repaired 21 times and the Soviet border-Qonduz and Soviet border-Balkh lines have been repaired three times after being damaged. The Sarobi electricity installation has started production after being repaired, and the repair of two generators at the Mahipar electricty complex will be completed before winter. Repair work at the Naghlo electricity installations is continuing. A long list of urgent repair and protection work, improvement, updating, and extension of electricity lines in the networks of the capital and provinces is under way to make them ready for production in winter. These preparations and an increase in the quantity of water at source gives rise to greater optimism regarding the eletricity situation and its distribution during the winter.

As far as coal mining is concerned, it should be said that in 1370 [starting 21 March 1991] it was planned to mine 145,000 tonnes of coal, but over the first six months of the year 45,470 tonnes was mined. A shortage of manpower, equipment, spare parts, and pit props was the cause of the plan shortfall. As a result of the hard work of the Ministry of Mines and Industries and other related organs, the mining of coal has recently been raised from 300 tonnes per day to 350 tonnes. By the end of the month of Sonbola, 15,300 tonnes of coal had been transported to Kabul to be distributed in 13 zones starting from 1 Mizan. It is planned to transport 34,700 more tonnes of coal to Kabul by the end of Qaws [starting 22 December]. As planned, 50,000 tonnes of coal will be transported to the capital for distribution to the residents of Kabul; coal will be handed out to 100,000 families.

This year it was decided to transport 14,000 tonnes of crude oil from Angot oil well to Kabul for the central heating of macrorayons, public baths, and institutions. So far, more than 6,000 tonnes have been transported to Kabul; the remaining quantity will be delivered by 15 Qaws. Recently, joint Afghan-Soviet projects to supply liquid gas for cooking and heating to Farid Naser Inc. in Hayratan, with a capacity of 5,000 cylinders per day, and the Khorrasan company in Herat, with a capacity of 10,000 cylinders per month, have been set up. According to reports, Farid Naser Inc. has brought 10,000 cubic meters of wood and 5,000 cylinders of liquid gas to Hayratan. Because the war has restricted the stock of traditional fuel in the country, this has to be imported. So, for the first time, this year 30,000 tonnes of coal and 25,000 cubic meters of wood have been imported from the Soviet Union by private entrepreneurs and is being distributed to consumers.

Esteemed deputies, several measures have been taken by the government and by the private sector in order that all staple goods will be provided in sufficient quantity. I would like our noble compatriots to be reassured that the government is not sparing any effort to ensure the tranquillity of the people. The coming winter will pass with certainty and as willed by God. God does not disappoint those who work for the tranquillity and peace of others.

Esteemed deputies, the state development budget and the socioeconomic development plan for 1370 is being implemented, as in previous years, under circumstances in which the prolonged war and its grave consequences have created serious problems for the whole country. Due to this factor, and despite persistent efforts and various measures, the state's financial situation has remained complex. During the current year, the national income was only 83.6 percent of plan, whereas expenses were 0.4 percent above plan. Income from internal sources was 29.9 billion afghanis and from the sale of grant-in-aid goods and material 4.4 billion afghanis, which amounts to 34.4 [as heard] billion afghanis. This figure shows a reduction of 6.7 billion afghanis or 16.4 percent in the plan for the first six months of the year, whereas compared to the income for the same period of the previous year it shows an increase of 650.5 million afghanis or 1.9 percent of national income. The income schedule shows that an income of 7 billion afghanis derives from direct taxes. This shows an increase of 24.4 million afghanis, or 0.4 percent under the plan for the first six months of the year, and in comparison with the same period of 1369 it shows an increase of 1.2 billion afghanis or 21 percent. This increase has been due especially to the exacting of taxes from individual businessmen, firms in the private sector, and guilds. In the first six months of this year, an income of 12.6 billion afghanis had been predicted from indirect taxation, whereas during this period 13.7 billion afghanis were in fact received. This shows an increase of 1.03 billion afghanis or 8.2 percent above plan for the first six months of the year, and an increase of 3.9 billion afghanis or 40 percent in comparison with the same period last year. The major section of this increase has been due to an increase in income from customs taxes. Income from the sale of state property and services compared to the first six months of the previous year is 209 million afghanis more, but it is 2.5 billion afghanis less than planned for the first six months of this year. The reason for this decrease is lack of natural gas exports to the Soviet Union. In the plan an income of 2.5 billion afghanis had been foreseen from this source. During this period income from the sale of consumer goods was 5.2 billion afghanis or 54.4 percent less than planned for the first six months of the year. Income from government property and funds was 4.9 billion afghanis or 65.1 percent more than the same period last year. The sum of 168.30 million afghanis above plan has been remitted to the national income from the net profit of state firms. It should be mentioned that over the six months of this year, 67 annual balance sheets have been submitted to the Ministry of Finance by state firms. It is hoped that by fulfilling the procedure of setting off balances against shortfalls, this defect will be corrected by contracting firms out to the employees. [sentence as heard] To improve the government's financial situation and enhance the productivity of firms in light of the new law, the prices of a number of products, such as cement, chemical fertilizers, coal, cotton, and cotton- and wool-based textiles, will be raised, and their impact on increasing government income will be felt in the second half of the year.

In the sphere of outlays, in view of the budget adopted in the first two quarters, it was intended to spend 120.7 billion afghanis from domestic sources. However, 130 billion afghanis have actually been allocated and issued. Our assessment shows that government expenditures in the normal development budget from domestic sources will amount to 21.2 billion afghanis in the [word indistinct] six months. For the normal expenditure of ministries and departments during the reporting period, 13 billion afghanis above plan have been issued in advance. For this period the ordinary expenditures of the ministries and departments were set at 64.7 billion afghanis. In the third and fourth quarters, the advanced allocations mainly covered price variations in subsidies for the armed forces because of price increases and purchases of agricultural products and animal feed. According to assessments, the ordinary expenses of the ministries and departments have been estimated at 69.4 billion afghanis. During the first six months of the current year, 49.1 billion afghanis were allocated to pay for some items included in the (?balance). However, the allocations issued and expended in this area amount to 47.8 billion afghanis. The extra 1.3-billion allocation has not been issued because the respective authorities did not manage to use their planned subsidy or produce documents. [passage omitted]

Esteemed delegates, the general condition of the country's economy and the existing situation in relation to income and expenditure has developed under the impact of the continuing war. A total of 9 billion afghanis from the sale of consumer goods provided as a grant-in-aid was taken into account in the total envisaged income for the current year. (?Difficulties) in the export of gas has created the concern that the envisaged income of 25 billion afghanis cannot be achieved. On the other hand, government expenditures estimated at 237.5 billion afghanis in the 1370 budget will probably exceed this figure at the end of the year due to price increases, a decline in the value of Afghan money, the high rate of convertible foreign currency, the rise in expenses, and other factors, as a result of which the actual budget deficit will be considerably more than the approved level. [passage omitted]

As far as the implementation of the socioeconomic plan in the first half of the year is concerned, industrial, power-generating, and mining enterprises as well as the agriculture and commercial sectors, construction and transport enterprises, and developing installations, are facing difficulties in the form of shortages of raw materials, energy, construction materials, spare parts, expert personnel, restrictions of imported materials, and a shortage of foreign currency.

This situation, together with the intensification of the fighting and natural disasters in some regions, has seriously affected the implementation of the plan. Assessments reveal that during the first six months of the current year, 4.4 billion afghanis or 93.6 percent of the issued allocations provided from domestic sources were expended on the projects. This figure covers some 42 percent of the total annual investment from domestic resources. In this area, the cost of projects amounts to $18.7 million or 23.7 percent of the annual expenditure provided for from credits and foreign assistance. Of a total of 472 projects, funds were allocated to and spent on 311 projects during the reporting period. [passage omitted]

During the first six months of the year we have seen an above-plan increase of 26.4 percent in electricity power generation, 4.3 percent in textile production, 1.9 percent in bread and bakery products, 5.2 percent in meat production, 1.4 percent in industrial metal products, 7.2 percent in medicaments, a six-fold increase in cotton, and an extra 1,200 tonnes in the production of vegetable oil.

At the same time, there has been a reduction of 1.7 percent in the total value of factory-produced industrial products in the government and mixed sectors compared to the previous year. The main cause of this reduction is the shortage of raw material, power, fuel, spare parts, expert personnel, and wear and tear on machinery and tools. Delays in the arrival of Soviet experts to open wells, security problems in the work area, shortages of professional expertise, noncompletion of work in the Jaqadoq substation, and noncompletion of the repair of the Mazar-e Sharif and Sheberghan transmission line have all delayed the extraction and export of natural gas.

Too much wear on machinery and tools in the Ghowri and Jabal-os Seraj cement factories, the problem of shortages of electrical power and petroleum products, and a series of other factors have rendered the full implementation of the cement production plan impossible. The departure of the Czechoslovak experts has caused delay from one year to another in the completion of the Ghowri-II and Herat cement factories. Moreover, explosions in the gas pipeline, low gas pressure, and other technical failures in the fertilizer and power generating factories during the spring of this year delayed the plan for the production and distribution of chemical fertilizer. For example, there was a 43-percent shortfall in the production of cement and a 32-percent shortfall in the production of chemical fertilizer for the first half of the year. [passage omitted]

Foreign trade turnover amounted to $430 million or 68.3 percent of the plan in the first six months of the year. This shows a 7.6-percent increase compared with the first six months of the previous year. The sums of $134.4 million in exports and $295.6 million in imports are included in the foreign trade. Compared with the first six months of last year, these figures show a 35.1-percent increase in exports and a 6-percent decrease in imports. [passage omitted]

Regarding social services, it should be said that in comparison with the same period last year, schools intake has increased by 1,000 children, university intake by about 880 students, and the number of schools has increased by 28.

During this period, construction work on the 100-bed hospital in Balkh Province was completed with a contribution from a national entrepreneur, and the 250-bed maternity hospital in Kabul, the 800-bed hospital in

Gardez City, the city clinic of Samangan Province, and a mobile clinic for the treatment of the Kochis [nomads] are ready to offer medical treatment.

During this period, efforts have been made to attract foreign assistance alongside negotiations with the relevant authorities. Agreements, protocols, and documents related to aid, exchanges of goods, the renegotiation of debts, and campaigns against plant diseases etc. have been signed with the relevant countries.

As a result of talks conducted with officials from UN special organizations, assistance valued at $70.3 million to the Republic of Afghanistan is anticipated and approved within the framework of the fifth round of planning assistance, which is $9 million more than in the previous round.

As a result of assessments of reports from the relevant ministries concerning the implementation of the state budget and plan, and concerning the special tasks and targets to overcome shortcomings by those ministries and departments, the Council of Ministers has not used all means at its disposal to implement the plan. [sentence as received]

Dear deputies, this was a brief report on the implementation of the state budget and socioeconomic development plan during the first half of 1370 that was presented to the esteemed representatives of the nation. A detailed report in this connection has been presented in written form. A report on implementation relating to Resolution No. 6, dated 24 [month indistinct], 1370 of the Wolasi Jerga session, is also attached to it.

In connection with the aforementioned resolution, I will only refer to a few topics briefly.

During the reporting period, the possibilities that were anticipated in the development budget were not fully exploited for various reasons. Therefore, the need did not arise to increase this budget from other sources and accounts. It should be borne in mind, unfortunately, that such a possibility did not even exist within normal reserves or from arms purchases [as heard]. The government has taken several measures to reduce the budget deficit, prevent inflation, achieve the national income, improve the performance of mixed enterprises, reduce expenditures, prevent the purchase of luxury items, and pay the salaries and expenses of tribal battalions and militiamen on the current list of personnel.

The results of this have been reflected in this report and have also been reported separately in writing.

In order to reduce structural inflation in the current year, a total of 2,079 posts have been cut from 24 ministries and departments. This includes 23 senior and very senior deputies and advisers, seven heads of foreign relations sections, 56 heads of legal consultation sections, 216 posts related to the internal investigation sections, and the reduction of the rank of deputy governors. The possibility of merging or abolishing a number of departments is being studied by a commission headed by the deputy prime minister for economic affairs, which is being formed especially for this purpose.

Esteemed members of the Meli Shura [as heard], the convocation of the 46th UN General Assembly session served as a good opportunity to give voice to the suffering people of the country. On the other hand, the need to intensify efforts to prepare the ground for the implementation of the provisions of the UN secretary general's five-point plan for a political solution to the issue of Afghanistan—especially the commencement of inter-Afghan talks—convinced the government to take specific diplomatic measures at a higher and effective level. Therefore, at the beginning of Mizan, a delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan led by myself, and with the participation of the ministers of foreign affairs, finance, and planning, attended the work of the 46th UN General Assembly session. [passage omitted]

As far as we can assess, it seems that our points of view and the method of our approach was welcomed by the UN secretary general, by the chairman of the UN General Assembly, and by representatives of all the member countries.

During a meeting that I had with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar in the course of the session, the secretary general expressed appreciation for the efforts made by Esteemed President of Afghanistan Najibullah and by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan to achieve a political solution and a national compromise among the Afghans. In the course of talks and consultations with the secretary general, the five-point plan, dated 21 May 1991, on a political solution to the issue of Afghanistan was discussed in detail. There was a useful and constructive discussion about the practical methods of implementing the aforementioned plan, especially the commencement of talks among the Afghans and the creation of a transitional government. The UN secretary general assured us with pleasure that during his visit to Tehran and Riyadh he obtained the agreement of the presidents of Iran and Pakistan and of the king of Saudi Arabia to support the UN plan for a political solution to the issue of Afghanistan. He viewed the results of his talks with Hazarat-e Sebghatollah Mojaddedi, Pir Sayed Ahmad Gailani, and esteemed Mr. (Mertazi) as positive and hopeful. He also gave assurances that he will pay serious and constant attention to solving the issue of Afghanistan by political means.

His excellency the secretary general said that measures have been taken to convene a gathering or an extensive conference of representatives of all sections of the people of Afghanistan. This gathering, which will possibly be held within the next few weeks in Geneva under the supervision of the UN secretary general, will create very favorable conditions for assessing the structure of a transitional government and its formation and activity.

The secretary general shared our belief that representatives of all sections of the people of Afghanistan should take part in this gathering. At present, and in consultation with all the sides involved, the UN secretary general is engaged in preparing a list of personalities in Afghanistan who will take part in the gathering.

Our talks with Samir Shahabi, a high-ranking Saudi diplomat and chairman of the present UN session, were useful and important. It is hoped that using the current favorable climate the present UN session will take new measures and embark on activities to solve the issue of Afghanistan by implementing the secretary general's plan. [passage omitted]

The international community wants to assist the people of Afghanistan to revive their destroyed economy. However, the basic condition is that with the commencement of the peace process, a stable tranquillity and security should be established in the country. Any instability can deprive the people of Afghanistan of this historic chance. [passage omitted]

Dear deputies, what brought us happiness during the course of the visit was the fact that I found the opportunity to talk and have meetings with a large number of Afghans living in Turkey, the United States, Switzerland, Germany, and the Soviet Union. They include well-known Afghan personalities, technocrats of the old governments, representatives of various political groups, national traders and entrepreneurs, ordinary compatriots, and my own friends. The long and devastating war has scattered the Afghans to far away lands. They have various standards of living and daily life. What links all of them is their pain at being away from the homeland and their great hatred of war. The Afghans living in Europe and in the United States, like all other Afghans, link their honorable return to the homeland and their future life with a strong hope for peace, tranquillity, security, the assurance of all individual and social freedoms, unconditional respect for human rights, protection of human dignity, the creation of a democratic climate, and the movement of the country in the direction of progress. In reality, life without these things is meaningless and impossible.

For their part, these compatriots are working to establish peace and an honorable life in their homeland by whatever means they have. We will be very lucky if the efforts of our delegation during this visit have contributed to the implementation of the peace process.

Our general view of the talks and meetings with Afghan circles, with the international community, and with foreign personalities gives rise to optimism. The will and readiness to contribute to the establishment of peace in Afghanistan is on the increase. The international community wants to be free of the psychological burden of war in Afghanistan.

His excellency the chairman, esteemed members of the Wolasi Jerga, it is our sacred mission to resolve the daily problems of the people and country. The government is making many efforts in this direction, but it does not claim that it has been or will be able to resolve all the tasks and all the difficulties to everyone's general satisfaction. Such claims and expectations would be unrealistic, given the war that is continuing. Our economy is a wartime economy. War brings bad luck and by its nature stands in the way of security, welfare, low prices, plentiful supplies, construction, progress, and freedom. By mentioning these bitter facts I want to invite the compatriots, brothers, and politicians who have a role in determining the destiny of their country and homeland to think about the devastating results of the continuation of the war.

I want to warn them that as long as the commencement of talks, the Afghan initiative, and movement toward peace are delayed—regardless of the fact that it prolongs the war, regardless of the fact that more of our peace-hungry compatriots will die—the role and authority of the Afghans themselves to determine their fate and the destiny of their country will become weaker.

At this stage, with the help of God and the blessing of positive developments in the world, the most significant foreign obstacles are being removed one by one from the path of peace in Afghanistan. The peace that we have been expecting for a very long time has come closer to our home than at any other time and is knocking at our door.

At present, the international community is testing the knowledge, wisdom, merit, honesty, forgiveness, and unselfishness of the Afghans in general and of each political party in particular—each formation, each influential personality, and each politician.

God direct us, the Afghans, to welcome (?the process) of peace and welfare with Afghan merit and Islamic belief. Success comes from God.

Bangladesh

Japan To Provide 12 Billion Yen as Commodity Loan

BK3010162691 Dhaka Radio Bangladesh Network in English 1530 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Bangladesh is to receive from Japan a commodity loan worth about 350 crore taka for emergency rehabilitation work in cyclone-affected areas. The amount is equivalent to over 12 billion yen. An agreement to this effect was signed in Dhaka today between Japanese Ambassador to Bangladesh Toshio Saiki and Additional Secretary, Economic Relations Division, Dr. Shaukat Ali. The loan will be utilized for procurement of essential industrial material and rehabilitation of some damaged projects in the cyclone-affected areas. The loan is repayable in 30 years, including 10 years' grace period.

Opposition Leader Suspends Student Activities

BK3110084691 Hong Kong AFP in English 0758 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Dhaka, Oct 31 (AFP)—Sheikh Hasina Wajed, Bangladesh's main opposition leader, announced Thursday she was suspending her party's student activities at Dhaka University in a dramatic bid to end campus violence.

"I suspended the activities of the Bangladesh Chatra League (BCL) in Dhaka University to restore calm as well as ensure restoration of a proper academic atmosphere there," Wajed, who heads the Awami League (AL) party, told AFP in a telephone interview Thursday.

Asked how long the ban, which applies only to Dhaka University, would remain in force, she said: "As long as we think normalcy has not returned to the campus."

It is the first time since Bangladesh's independence in 1971 that BCL activities have been suspended anywhere.

Information Minister Nazmul Huda described her decision as a "good step," but accused the Awami League, without naming it, of triggering Sunday's incidents in which three students and a homeless child were killed. The league has denied this.

Ending campus violence has become the government's top priority and "we hope something will emerge on the basis of consensus," he told AFP in a separate interview Thursday.

Huda accused the opposition of using strikes and violence in an attempt to destabilise the government. "Their policy is to see that the Bangladesh Nationalist Party cannot settle down," he said.

The BNP, headed by Khaleda Zia, came to power in March after the first democratic elections in Bangladesh.

Wajed, for her part, accused Prime Minister Zia and the BNP of letting loose "a reign of terror" to divert public attention from the "serious" hunger situation in northern Bangladesh.

Wajed's initial announcement came in parliament during a debate on student violence late Wednesday. The debate was in response to Sunday's gun battle on Dhaka University campus between BCL and the Jatiyatabadi Chatra Dal (JCD), the respective student wings of the Awami League and Zia's BNP, in which three students were killed.

Two of the victims belonged to JCD and the third to BCL.

Since March more than 100 schools across the country have been closed indefinitely following student violence, mainly between the BCL and JCD. The clashes have left 16 dead and scores injured.

BCL sources said they welcomed their leader's decision and were determined to restore calm on the campus.

"We hope the BNP will follow the example set by our leader," one BCL activist said.

Observers and teachers described the move as a necessary first step to end the violence "but too soon to think everything will be straightened out overnight ... We have to wait and see.

In a related development, university teachers have threatened to start an indefinite strike from Saturday until the government took effective steps to stop the violence.

Dhaka newspapers have called on the country's leaders to join hands in ending campus violence "once and for all."

"Continued violence would not only destroy higher education, but could also have serious consequences for the nation," the BANGLADESH OBSERVER said.

The pro-government BANGLADESH TIMES said the campus incidents brought "shame for all political parties....let us heal ourselves."

India

Sanctions Against South Africa Lifted

BK3110040091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] India has decided to lift to and fro travel sanctions and the sports boycott against South Africa in conformity with the decision of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting held recently in Harare. The secretary, east, in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. L.L. Mehrotra, conveyed this to the chief representative of the African National Conference [ANC], Mr. M. Mpehle, New Delhi. During their meeting, Mr. Mehrotra also informed Mr. M. Mpehle that India will intensify its ongoing assistance and support to the ANC in the professional training of ANC cadres in various fields.

Romanian Foreign Minister Begins Visit 30 Oct

BK3010033891 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The Romanian foreign minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase, arrived in New Delhi this morning on a two-day visit. During his stay, he will have talks with the external affairs minister and called on the president and the prime minister.

Solanki Assures Romania on Release of Diplomat

BK3010131891 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1230 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] India has assured Romania that all possible resources are being mobilized to trace the kidnapped

Romanian diplomat, Mr. Radu. The external affairs minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki, told the visiting Romanian foreign minister, Mr. Nastase, that the government of India is sparing no efforts to secure the safe and early return of Mr. Radu.

During their talks in New Delhi today, Mr. Solanki said the kidnapping has been a cause of great anxiety to the people and the government.

Punjab Militants Threaten Diplomats in UK

BK3010145691 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1430 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] In London, security arrangements for the Indian high commissioner, Mr. L.N. Singhvi, and the assistant high commissioner in Birmingham, Mr. R. Chandra Sekhar, have been tightened following reports of threats to their lives from some Punjab extremists. Mr. Singhvi has been provided with a bullet-proof car and a special security officer for his personal security. Similar arrangements have been made for the assistant high commissioner also. Security around the Indian High Commission in London and the Indian Consulate in Birmingham has also been tightened.

Foreign Secretary's Pakistan Talks Reported

BK3010153091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1430 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The fifth round of secretary-level talks between India and Pakistan began in Islamabad today. The foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, and his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Shaharyar Khan, are heading their delegations. Our Islamabad correspondent Suresh Chopra understands that the talks were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere with both sides speaking their minds freely. A wide range of subjects relating to India-Pakistan relations, spread over two sessions, were discussed. One of the matters both sides agreed upon was the need for orienting the news coverage on both sides of the border so as to contribute toward normalization of relations between the two countries. The talks will continue tomorrow.

Earlier, Mr. Dubey called on the Pakistani prime minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif. Mr. Sharif expressed the hope that the current round of talks will continue the process set rolling toward normalization and good-neighborliness during his meeting with Mr. Narasimha Rao in Harare.

Fifth-Round Talks Begin

BK3010032891 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0245 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The fifth round of foreign secretary level talks between India and Pakistan begins in Islamabad today. The foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, will lead the Indian delegation, while the Pakistan side will be headed by its foreign secretary, Mr. Shaharyar Khan. Talking to newsmen at Islamabad airport, Mr. Dubey said efforts will made to carry forward the dialogue which took place between the prime ministers of the two countries at Harare recently. Our endeavor will be to settle outstanding issues peacefully, he said.

The AIR [All India Radio] Islamabad correspondent reports that although there is no fixed agenda for the two-day talks, the entire gamut of regional and international issues will come up for discussion. Our correspondent says that during his stay in the Pakistani capital, Mr. Dubey will be calling on President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Prime Minister Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

Joint Statement Issued 31 Oct

BK3110160391 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] The India-Pakistan secretary-level talks ended in Murree near Islamabad today. The two-day talks concentrated on the entire range of bilateral matters between the two countries.

In a joint press statement, the two sides expressed satisfaction at the outcome of the talks on the Wullar project and on the Sir Creek [Gujarat-Sindh maritime boundary] issue.

They agreed to consider issue of a joint declaration on chemical weapons and decided to convene a meeting of experts from both sides to exchange views on a ban on development, production, deployment, and use of chemical weapons.

Both sides agreed to exchange information about their nuclear installations and facilities before the first of January.

It was agreed that they will resume dialogue on the Siachen issue at an early date.

The two foreign secretaries, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, have agreed to hold the sixth round of talks in New Delhi early next year.

Official Denies Pressure To Curb Burma Broadcasts

BK3010121091 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES in English 10 Oct 91 p 12

[By HINDUSTAN TIMES Correspondent]

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 9—The Government affirmed today that former Burmese Premier U Nu's daughter Mrs Than Than Nu continues working in the All India Radio and external services broadcasts in Burmese language continue without a break.

Responding to questions from newsmen on today's report in a daily alleging that she had been banned from broadcasting, at the behest of Burma's ruling military junta, the official spokesman remarked that variations in the programme mix were made from time to time.

He asserted "our decisions are not taken under external pressure—on the contrary they emanate from objective considerations and national foreign policy interests involved."

He clarified that while the All India Radio functions within a set of parameters that allow for a considerable degree of latitude for the external services programme, it has been the practice to consult the External Affairs Ministry.

The spokesman observed there was no threat whatsoever by the Burmese military junta to shut down the Indian Embassy in Rangoon.

The jounral "India calling" continues to be distributed in Rangoon (Yangon).

The official spokesman asserted that it was India's consistent policy to extend principled and moral support to forces struggling for democracy in Burma (Myanmar). India has urged the military government to ensure transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people, who won the national Parliamentary elections of May 27, 1990. India had also urged the authorities to respect human rights in that country.

India was simultaneously and equally committed to refrain from any action that can be construed as interference in internal affairs of Myanmar, he said.

India To Help Rehabilitate East German Industry

BK3110100091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0830 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] India has been invited to participate in the reconstruction of the erstwhile East German industry. This was disclosed by the minister of state for finance, Mr. Rameshwar Thakur, to our correspondent in New Delhi today. Mr. Thakur, who has just returned from a tour of several foreign countries, said KFW, a leading German financial institution, has offered to cooperate with India to rebuild East German industry through long- term financing arrangements. Mr. Thakur said two German industrial giants had also offered to enter into industrial collaboration with India in a big way.

He said the country's foreign exchange reserves have now gone up to 6,000 crore rupees as against 2,300 crores in June this year. Mr. Thakur also indicated that the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act—FERA, the Companies Act and the Income Tax Act are being reviewed for their simplification and rationalization.

Writer Analyzes Relations With Soviet Union

BK3010105991 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES in English 10 Oct 91 p 13

[By Arabinda Ghose, lately in Moscow]

[Text] When in July 1990, Prime Minister V.P. Singh had paid an official visit to the Soviet Union, it was considered "highly satisfactory" and Indian diplomatic circles were very pleased with the attitude of President Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Miniser Eduard Shevardnadze towards India. They had told me then that the Soviet Union paid immense importance to India and would be friendly to any Government in India, irrespective of the politicals parties or personalities heading it.

This of course was true till August 19 this year when the hardliner Communists tried their hand at wresting power through a military coup. However, several question marks have arisen after the dismantling of the former set-up. Mr Gorbachev is the President of a Union which strictly speaking does not exist, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow has been taken over by Boris Pankin, the former Ambassador to an East European nation and who opposed the putschists. The Foreign Ministry itself appears now to be a conglomeration of the foreign ministries of the 12 republics which have all become free and sovereign states and if I were the Ambassador of India to the Soviet Union, I would certainly have found the situation too fluid to open up discussions with the new leaders of the Union because I would not know who the real boss is now at the present moment.

There is no doubt that the Soviet Union, or whatever has remained of it, does consider India to be an important country and when things settle down, normal diplomatic activities would be resumed. However it is clear that the future dialogue would not and cannot be centralised any more and willy-nilly India would have to establish contact with the new republics or sovereign States as they too would like to do so.

As of now, the entire attention of the Soviet leaders, and particularly the Russian Federation leaders, is concentrated towards the West and its allies, because it is they alone who can bail out the country through the forthcoming winter with food, medicines and cash. Besides, Soviet foreign policy is also undergoing a qualitative change with Mr Boris Pankin declaring that his country's relationship with the outside world would henceforth be "deideologised," which clearly means that the "socialism" aspect of the polity of various countries with which the Soviet Union has had relations will now be at a discount.

Clear hints about this were given when the Soviet Union decided to reduce its presence from Cuba, a country it has supported and sustained for almost 35 years. Ethiopia too is out of reckoning, and hence one might be tempted to conclude that India too will get a low priority with the new set-up in Moscow. And indeed, there are indications to that effect, if one were to go by the excessive "tilt" of the new establishment towards the West.

However, contact between India's External Affairs Minister Madhavsinh Solanki at the United Nations and Mr Boris Pankin and the latter's invitation to Mr Solanki to visit Moscow show that the old relationships are being maintained. In fact, Mr Pankin is scheduled to visit India next month to sign the extension of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship by another 20 years, I was told in Moscow.

Besides, India's foreign, as well as internal economic policies too are being "de-ideologised", and the liberalisation in trade and industry are pointers to these directions.

Nevertheless, the fall of the Soviet Union from the status of a super power will have certain fallouts which may not be in India's interests.

The uni-polar world of today with the USA and its allies calling the shots has deprived India of a stable and sincere friend for the last 40 years, and although the economic situation in the Soviet Union has taken a nosedive now, it was the Soviet Union which had offered massive assistance to India during the initial periods of our planning process. In fact, our five year plans are nothing but a transplantation of the Soviet system suited to Indian conditions. The rupee trade and the supply of defence hardware to India by the Soviet Union all these years had cemented the friendship between the two countries in the last few decades.

I was told in Moscow that the new Defence Minister of the Soviet Union—with whom our Ambassador Alfred Gonsalves had a meeting last month—is quite sympathetic to India's needs. As the former air chief of the Soviet Union, Marshal Y. Shapashnikov had recently visited India and is well aware of the situation and India's needs. I have been told by other authorities in Delhi that the supply of equipment for some of India's power projects would not be affected by the changes in the USSR. These are welcome signs.

Besides, one can legitimately ask if the new Soviet Union and its constituent republics which are now independent States, can afford to ignore India with a population of 850 million and a stabilising factor in this part of the world. Besides, India still is the main exporter of various agricultural produce to the Soviet Union, on rupee-ruble trade agreement. The bulk of tea, coffee, tobacco, leather garments, detergents, shoe uppers, and the like are exported to the Soviet Union from India. We too get crude oil, petroleum products, fertilisers, metal scrap, machinery and equipment, from the Soviet Union. The rupee-ruble trade has been beneficial to both sides, and if this is terminated, both sides will be in difficulty in finding the hard currency to pay for the imports.

Politically, if a Communist Soviet Union developed such close relationships with a Parliamentary democracy, albeit with a certain amount of bias for the USSR in its outlook on foreign affairs necessitated by geo-political consideration in the past, there is no reason why parliamentary democracies in the former USSR should not have similar degree of friendliness with today's India.

There is another area which is of mutual concern to at least Russia and some other republics—the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the former Central Asian Republics. The former Republics of Uzbekistan, Kazhakstan, Kirghiziya, Turkmenia, Azerbaijan and Tadjikistan are inhabited predominantly by Muslims and there has been demands from some of these republics at least to convert their States into Islamic ones. Pakistan is trying to open a consular office in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan and an air service between Karachi/Rawalpindi and Tashkent too is reportedly being planned. Recently at Omsk in Siberia, an islamic conference was held in which many countries of the Islamic world including Bangladesh (but not Pakistan) are reported to have taken part.

Although Kazhakstan, the second largest of the 15 erstwhile republics of the USSR is also predominantly Muslim, its leadership is not inclined towards Islamic fundamentalism so far. But then, Kazhakstan will have nuclear weapons on its territory for some years to come, and this would cause as much worry to India as to Russia.

In the final analysis, the interests of Russia and other republics and those of India would continue to coincide and after things settle down in Moscow, a new chapter in the relationship between India and those states are likely to emerge.

Singh Assures Protection of Disputed Mosque

BK3010162491 Delhi Doordarshan Television Network in English 1600 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The Uttar Pradesh [U.P.] chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, met the home minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, in New Delhi this evening and assured him that full protection will be given to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid [temple-mosque] structure. An official spokesman said that the chief minister also guaranteed protection to all disputed property and maintenance of status quo until the final decision by the high court. The home secretary, Mr. Godbole, was present during the 40-minute meeting.

The terrorist problem in the Terai region was also discussed. Mr. Kalyan Singh requested the center for assistance in modernizing the police force. The home minister readily agreed to provide special training to the U.P. police and assured the chief minister of all assistance in combating terrorism.

'Serious Concern' Over Unrest

BK3110163191 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1530 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Excerpts] In Ayodhya, a group of people broke the police cordon today and hoisted saffron flags on the disputed Ram Janambhoomi-Babr Masjid [temple-mosque] structure. Another group of people damaged the outer wall of the structure, while some persons threw stones on the members of the visiting fact-finding team from Delhi. [passage omitted covered by referent item]

The seven-member fact-finding team from Delhi visited the disputed area in Ayodhya today. While returning, a group of people shouted slogans and pelted stones on them. According to district officials, bodyguards of the leaders fired in the air from one of their cars. Security personnel immediately drove the leaders to a circuit house. Adequate security has been provided to the visiting team. The leaders include Mr. M.J. Akbar, Mr. Suresh Kalmadi, Mr. Anil Shastri, Mr. K.C. Tyagi, Mr. Subodhkant Sahay, Mr. Bhuvaneshwar Kalika, and Mr. Ajay Singh. Mr. M.J. Akbar alleged that the Faizabad district administration earlier did not allow them to ascertain the reported demolition of some temples in Ayodhya. Mr. Akbar alleged that this action only confirms that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] government in Uttar Pradesh has something to hide.

The center has expressed serious concern at today's developments at Ayodhya. The home minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, spoke to the Uttar Pradesh chief minister, Mr. Kalyan Singh, over telephone and had detailed discussions on the steps to maintain law and order. An official spokesman told newsmen in New Delhi today that Mr. Kalyan Singh reassured the center that all steps will be taken to protect the Ramjanambhoomi-Babri Masjid structure. Mr. Kalyan Singh said that the court's decision in this matter will be honored. He informed the home minister that some bad elements tried to create problems this afternoon. The chief minister said that he has asked the organizers of the kar seva [Hindu voluntary service to build temple] to identify such elements and prevent them from creating any further problem.

The Congress-I has condemned today's incidents at Ayodhya. The party spokesman, Professor C.P. Thakur, alleged that the incident appeared to be a clear political calculation of the Uttar Pradesh government with VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad, World Hindu Council] connivance. The party spokesman demanded that the state and the central government assure full protection to Babri Masjid and no such adventurous attempt be allowed in the interest of communal harmony. He also criticized the attack on the fact-finding team.

The leader of the Congress-I legislature party in Uttar Pradesh, Mr. Pramod Tiwari, has demanded setting up of an all-party committee to probe the alleged demolition of some temples in the disputed area. Talking to newsmen in Lucknow today, he said that the BJP government in the state has no moral right to continue in office as it has failed to protect the Babri Mosque. The former chief minister and the state SJP [Samajwadi Janata Party] chief, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav, in a statement in Lucknow said that today's incidents bring out the real intentions of the BJP in regard to the Babri Masjid. The Samajwadi Janata Party leader, Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, said it was an administrative lapse on the part of the state government to have allowed such an incident to take place.

Outer Wall Reportedly Damaged

BK3110150891 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 1430 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] In Ayodhya, some people today broke the police cordon and hoisted saffron flags on the disputed structure. Another group of people damaged a wall in the structure. According to the Faizabad district magistrate some people threw stones at the members of the visiting fact-finding team from Delhi. About 40 people were arrested in connection with these incidents. The flags were immediately taken off by the police.

Our special correspondent Ramji Tripathi after visiting the disputed site in Ayodhya reports that the outer wall has been damaged at one place on the eastern side and half a dozen places on the northern side. The district magistrate says that there is no damage to the structure and the outer wall is part of the land to be acquired by the state governmenmt. Our correspondent adds the security arrangements have been tightened inside the disputed complex. Ten companies of CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force] and PAC [Provincial Armed Constabulary] have been deployed. The situation is now under control.

The seven-member fact-finding committee to probe the demolition of some temples near the disputed shrine was attacked by a group of stone-throwing activists. Security personnel immediately packed the leaders into a car and drove them to a circuit house.

Madandal Commission Recommendations Reported

BK3110081091 Delhi All India Radio Network in English 0730 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] The Supreme Court today referred all the petitions challenging the implementation of the Mandal Commission [on job reservation for lower caste people] recommendations to a nine-judge bench. The order was passed by a five-judge bench of the apex court headed by Chief Justice Ranganath Mishra. The larger bench will start hearing the petitions from 4 December.

Iran

Imam Soltani Target of 'Assassination Attempt'

NC3010133891 (Clandestine) Iran's Flag of Freedom Radio in Persian 0645 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] It is said that the Friday imam and representative of Khamene'i in Ilam, Hojjat ol-Eslam Soltani, was the target of an assassination attempt.

Khamene'i Says Conference Participants To Suffer

LD3010140991 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 1030 GMT 30 Oct 91

["Full text" of remarks by Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, leader of the Islamic revolution and commander in chief of the armed forces, at a ceremony marking the end of the first course of the Command and Staff College of the Officer Training University of the Ground Force of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran, place not given, on 30 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] As you heard in the news, the leader of the Islamic revolution and the Commander in Chief of the forces today—speaking at the ceremony marking the end of the first course of the Command and Staff College and commissioning of the cadets of the 26th course of the Officer Training University of the Ground Force of the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran—stressed the decisive will of the revolution, and the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran to defend the rights of the victimized Palestinian nation. The full text of the remarks by the leader of the Islamic revolution concludes the hour's newscast of the VIRI.

[Khamene'i] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. This is one of the sweetest and most beautiful ceremonies of our armed forces. [passage omitted]

Our army has two characteristics, which if found in any army allows that army to boast of efficiency. One is the fact that in our country the army has won the hearts of the people, unlike those armies that are separate from the people, and stand against the people. [passage omitted]

The second characteristic of our army is that you are building yourselves for a lofty and sacred objective. Other armies, no matter where they are and to what nation they belong, may limit their objective to nationalistic and tribal considerations, but your objective is a humane objective. It is true that the impregnable fortress for the defense of the nation is made of these very armed forces of ours, and it is true that the correct meaning of patriotism is what a correct army performs, which is to defend the homeland by sacrificing lives rather than by mere words. Yet none of these can prevent our army from thinking about the lofty humane and divine objectives. In your report on the performance of the Officer Training College, you talk of occupied Palestine. The heart of each individual one of you faithful young men is filled with hatred for the enemies of Islam and love of Islamic values and the great Islamic homeland, as well as Islamic brothers and Islamic aspirations. We are Muslims—and Iranians. Our being Muslims is not in contradiction with our being Iranians; rather, they are complementary. [passage omitted]

These two characteristics are peculiar to you. We welcome Islamic incentives in any nation and in any army of the world armies. It is a pity such an opportunity is denied to others; but you do possess that opportunity. Your oath is one of the strongest and most sacred oaths. And it is the strength of your faith in religion which guarantees the solidity of the country's defense and military strength. The enemies of Islam should know that the Islamic Republic is strong and everlasting, because it enjoys the support of the hearts and faiths and thoughts of its nation and brave youths, and its armed forces are the strong arms of this nation and an organ of this glorious body.

Today you can see the world situation. This conference, which will start today and make decisions, is forced on the Muslim peoples and a great injustice against the Palestinian nation. The world's policymakers should not think that by sitting down, talking, and clapping their hands they will be able to take charge of the fate of nations and rearrange countries at will. Our contemporary history has shown the baselessness and feebleness of such decisions. [passage omitted]

Those who take part in this treason will suffer the wrath of the nations; but the nations and God's historical traditions will follow their course. It is not what we alone say. There is no need for them to mobilize their voluminous propaganda against the Islamic Republic of Iran. As far as defending the great and rightful cause of Palestine is concerned, we do not stand on ceremony with anybody, and are not unduly considerate toward anybody. But we are not the only ones who are saying this today; nations do not have a forum; they are not finding those places where they will be allowed to say what they want to say. Were you to give them the opportunity...[sentence as heard] If you were not stopping people on the streets of Egypt and Jordan and the rest of the Islamic countries with teargas, truncheons, and weapons, then it would be known what Islamic nations say, and what they want. This is what all Islamic nations say.

Dear young people; dear children of this homeland and Islam; you should appreciate this era of work and struggle; you should benefit from your training and the strength of your faith to build yourselves up physically and spiritually. You are bearing heavy responsibilities and, of course, duties that you can be proud of. I sincerely thank all those who have prepared the training courses of the Islamic Republic of Iran's armed forces, especially those of the Officer Training University—at all levels. God be thanked today, because on the one hand the armed forces of the Islamic Republic, and on the other, the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, are in the process of growth and of discharging their responsibilities like two strong saplings. Much to the chagrin of the enemy, who does not want to see and cannot see, the Islamic Republic will continue to nurture its children in its loving bosom, and guide them along the correct and noble path evermore. May God grant you success, and guide and assist us along the path of duty. Peace and God's benedictions be upon you.

Madrid Envoys 'May Be Killed With Impunity'

LD3010160291 Tehran IRNA in English 1045 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Tehran, Oct. 30, IRNA—Vice-speaker of the Majles Assadollah Bayat and several other deputies here

Wednesday castigated the U.S.-engineered Middle East peace conference which opened in the Spanish capital today.

Bayat who chaired the open session of the Majles called the conference the most shameful and contemptuous gathering of the history adding that it will fail to reach any result.

Bayat described American President George Bush as "the most hated personality of the world." He added that in the near future the world will witness intensification of coercive actions against the U.S.

Tehran Deputy Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Mohtashemi described the Madrid conference as the greatest catastrophe of the Muslim world and said "the Islamic land of Palestine is being plundered by the Jews through the traitors and the heads of Muslim states are approving it through their deadly silent."

Mohtashemi called Wednesday, the opening day of the Madrid peace conference, "the public day of mourning and the day of wrath of Muslim nations towards America and Israel." "Participation in this American conference is a treason against Islam and Muslims and the participants are considered as those who have waged war and may be killed with impunity," he told the session.

"The revolutionary Muslims in the earliest opportunity and under any condition will fulfil their obligation towards America and participants of the conference. Bush (George), as the mastermind of this great treason is the main criminal and the most hated person and this hatred will remain till the moment of punishment," he added. He further told the deputies that the U.S. will not remain immune of the wrath of the revolutionary groups.

Another speaker of the session was deputy from Rasht, Gilan Province, Eliass Hazrati, who also said that the Madrid conference means sacrificing of the Palestinian people.

Madrid Conference 'Day of Shame, Grief'

LD3010162691 Tehran IRNA in English 1349 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Madrid, Oct 30, IRNA—In what is considered by the majority of Muslims as a "day of shame and grief", but regarded by the West as "historic" the U.S. sponsored Middle East conference started in Madrid Wednesday morning.

If the weather could be taken as an omen for the success or failure of this first direct talks between Arabs and Israel, then the propsects look gloomy. Madrid is shrouded with clouds and fog.

Hinting to the uncertain mood prevailing here, U.S. President George Bush in his 20-minute inaugural speech cautioned that "no one can say with any precision what the end result would be." He pledged that the U.S. would continue playing an active role for the conference to succeed. Bush said that a framework of diplomacy already existed for the Arabs and Israel to work on.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker toured the region eight times after the Persian Gulf war to arrange the conference that may lead to the recognition of Israel by the Arab states.

"Negotiations will be conducted in stages beginning with talks on interim self-government. We aim to reach agreement within one year. And once agreed interim self-government arrangements will last for five years," Bush said. Starting from the third year, negotiations will begin on the permanent status, he said, apparently referring to Palestinian self- rule in territories occupied by Israel in 1967.

Delegates to the conference were seated around a T-shaped table in the historic Royal Palace of Madrid. The Israeli delegation, led by Yitzhaq Shamir, was flanked by the Egyptian and Lebanese delegations, facing opposite the delegations from Syria, the European Community and the joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Delegates from the (Persian) Gulf Cooperation Council, the U.N. and the north African Maghreb Union, which have observer status, were seated some metres behind the table. The Saudi ambassador to Washington, Bandar Bin-Sultan, is a member of the (P)GCC team.

Arabs, opposing the so-called peace conference have dubbed it as the "conference of capitulation." The head of the Zionist regime, Yitzhaq Shamir, has repeatedly said he would not trade peace for land, as proposed by Egypt. But Arab observers here feel he will drop his hardline attitude once negotiations start.

Officially inaugurating the conference, host Prime Minister Filipe Gonzalez noted that Spain "in its long history has known the fruitful coexistence of the three cultures (Muslim, Jewish and Christian) represented in the conference."

Gonzalez called for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. George Bush, citing the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, said peace between Arabs and Israel was possible. He said the real work will not happen in the plenary sessions, but in direct talks between Arabs and Israelis.

Jordan and Egypt had sat together with Israel in Geneva in 1973 after the Ramadan war in an unsuccesful attempt to talk peace. The talks failed but it opened the door for the visit of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to Israel and to the signing of the Camp David accord in 1979.

Washington and Tel Aviv are hoping that something similar will happen again. Bush also referred to the U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis of negotiations. The resolutions call for the withdrawal of Israel from Palestinian territories occupied in the 1967 war.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, called the co-sponsor of the Mideast conference, in his speech stressed that the conference was "of importance for the entire world" and said it was "a unique opportunity for Arab-Israeli peace."

The Soviet Union, having lost its superpower position after the collapse of communism, has in fact only a ceremonial role. It is also wrong to call it the co-sponsor. Moscow merely accepted the U.N proposal to convene the confernce.

Khamene'i: Madrid Conference 'Bullying' Islam

LD3010161691 Tehran IRNA in English 1231 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] Tehran, Oct. 30, IRNA—The leader of the Islamic revolution on Wednesday described the U.S.-designed Middle East peace conference in Madrid as an "act of bullying against Muslim nations and a big oppression against the innocent people of Palestine."

"We are sure that those participating in this conference will be hated by their nations," Ayatollah 'Ali Khamene'i said in his speech at a graduation ceremony at a military academy here.

"Despite massive propaganda campaigns launched by the mass media of the global arrogance and Zionism against the Islamic Republic, we will have no consideration for anyone in defending the just cause of the Palestinian people," the leader said.

The revered ayatollah felt confident that based on divine law and the tradition of history, the decisions that would be taken at the Madrid conference will all fall through.

Terming the Iranian armed forces as a mighty force defending the Iranian people, Ayatollah Khamene'i said "the enemies of Islam should know that the Islamic Republic will remain powerful and steadfast because it relies on the hearts of its people and zealous youths."

UN Mission Denies Search for Nuclear Capability

LD3110065691 Tehran IRNA in English 0617 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] United Nations, New York, Oct. 31, IRNA—The permanent mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran in a statement here Wednesday categorically dismissed a WASHINGTON POST report claiming that Iran attempts to seek nuclear arm capability. Referring to a report on the Wednesday issue of the paper, the statement said "such baseless charges are nothing but exploitation of the atmosphere created by recent events in Iraq and its subsequent sensationalism." The statement said the WASHINGTON POST report is full of cynical quotes and observations from unnamed sources and what is "vaguely called intelligence community." It stressed that the Islamic Republic of Iran is a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and has "strictly complied with principles and safeguard system of the iaea."

"It is factually established in the international organizations since 1974, that Iran has been a staunch supporter of the idea of Middle East as a nuclear weapon free zone and free of all weapons of mass destruction and it has diligently pursued that goal," added the statement.

Nuclear Weapons 'Activities' Officially Denied

LD3110111291 Tehran IRNA in English 0758 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Tehran, Oct. 31, IRNA—Foreign Ministry Wednesday denied allegations by some Western mass media and officials concerning Iran's efforts to seek nuclear arm capability.

Ministry's spokesman Morteza Sarmadi said that all Iran's activities regarding nuclear power stations are carried out with the knowledge of the International Atomic Energy Agency and in compliance with its regulations. He termed as false claims by Western mass media on Iran's efforts to secure nuclear weapons in cooperation with countries such as China.

Sarmadi said the allegations are aimed at diverting the public opinion from the current dangerous developments which are detrimental to the interests of the regional nations.

Embassy Denies Nuclear Cooperation With China

LD2210142991 Tehran IRNA in English 1319 GMT 22 Oct 91

[Text] New Delhi, Oct. 22, IRNA—The Iranian Embassy here Tuesday denied rumours about Iran's atomic cooperation with China.

A statement released by the Iranian Embassy here today stressed that Iran advocates nuclear disarmament at the international level. It said, however, that the United States insists on the nuclear disarmament of South Asia solely because of its own selfish interests. The Madras-based English daily HINDU said in a report Monday that Iran is building a nuclear reactor with the cooperation of China.

Talks Held on Border 'Incidents' With Turkey

NC3110075991 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran First Program Network in Persian 0430 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Following recent incidents on the Iranian-Turkish border, delegations from the Islamic Republic of Iran and Turkey have been assessing these issues at joint sessions during the past few days. At these sessions, the delegations stressed the need to refrain from actions that could harm current agreements managing relations between the two countries and the norms of good-neighborliness.

During these talks, hope was expressed that at the next session of the border High Commission in Tehran, the way will be paved for the intensive implementation of the substance of the agreement on joint border arrangements.

Iran's delegation regretted the continued Turkish impoundment of the vessel carrying a consignment belonging to Iran and called for the swift release of the vessel and its load.

PKK Operation Into Turkey, Casualties Reported

NC3110115891 (Clandestine) Iran's Flag of Freedom Radio in Persian 0645 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] PKK [Kurdish Workers Party] guerrillas infiltrated Turkey and clashed with border officials. Some guerrillas were wounded and transferred to Reza'iyeh. Fierce clashes between armed combatants and guards around Mahabad left some of the regime's repressive guards dead or wounded. Precise figures are not available. A day earlier, two guards were badly hurt when guard patrol units were fired on inside Mahabad city.

UN Envoy Expects 'Other Hostages' To Be Freed

LD3110114791 Tehran IRNA in English 0710 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] United Nations, New York, Oct. 31, IRNA—Iran's permanent envoy to the U.N. Kamal Kharrazi discussed implementation of the remaining articles of the U.N. Resolution 598, hostage issue and the latest developments in the Middle East with U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar here Wednesday.

In an interview with IRNA after the meeting, he said that in light of de Cuellar's efforts other hostages are expected to be freed soon provided that the Zionist regime cooperates with the secretary general over the issue.

Kharrazi said de Cuellar briefed him on his efforts to secure the release of the hostages and Lebanese prisoners and to find out about the fate of the Iranians disappeared in Lebanon in 1982. He reassured the U.N. chief of Iran's readiness to assist him in his humanitarian efforts.

Kharrazi stressed that the major obstacle hindering the progress of the hostage issue and Muslim proisoners is the Zionist regime which has linked the release of the hostages to repatriation of its war prisoners in Lebanon. The Iranian envoy quoting de Cuellar said that conditions are suitable for continuation of efforts for the release of the hostages.

On implementation of the Resolution 598 on ending Iraq-Iran war, he said that naming of the aggressor party in the war is still in the schedule of the U.N. chief who is comissioned to carry out investigations and report the findings to the Security Council.

Situation in Afghanistan and U.N. efforts in this connection as well as Iran's stand vis-a-vis the latest developments in the Middle East, the Palestinian problem in particular, were also discussed with de Cuellar, he said.

Pakistan

Officials Meet With Indian Foreign Secretary

'Meaningful' Relations Desired

BK3110053091 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has stressed the need to pay attention to all problems between Pakistan and India, especially Jammu and Kashmir, in a meaningful manner so that these problems can be solved. He said this during talks with Indian Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey, who called on him in Islamabad yesterday. The Indian foreign secretary conveyed to the prime minister a goodwill message from Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and referred to the meeting between the two leaders held in a cordial atmosphere on the occasion of Commonwealth heads of government meeting in Harare. Mr. Dubey also briefed the prime minister on his talks with his Pakistani counterpart, Shaharyar Khan, describing them as positive.

Meanwhile, Mohammad Siddique Kanjoo, minister of state for foreign affairs, has said that Pakistan's stand on the Kashmir problem is clear, and it wants to resolve all problems with India peacefully. Talking to newsmen at Multan airport last evening, the state minister said he is trying to start meaningful bilateral talks with India on all problems.

In reply to a question on the central Asian republics, the state minister said he is carefully reviewing the situation in these republics. A consul general is to be appointed to Tashkent and Pakistan International Airlines is going to start services. A delegation comprising intellectuals, educationists, businessmen, and journalists is being sent to promote relations with these republics.

Regarding Pakistanis living in Bangladesh, he said the government is determined that they will be able to return honorably to Pakistan, but arrangements to provide basic facilities have to be made prior to their return.

Khan Expresses 'Satisfaction'

BK3110114591 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in English 1100 GMT 31 Oct 91

[Text] President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has expressed satisfaction over the process of bilateral discussions between the foreign secretaries of Pakistan and India. He was talking to the Indian foreign secretary, Mr. Muchkund Dubey, who called on him in Islamabad today. The Indian foreign secretary conveyed to the president greetings and best wishes of the Indian president, Mr. Venkataraman, and the prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, which the president warmly reciprocated.

Fifth-Round Talks Held 30 Oct

BK3010144991 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 1400 GMT 30 Oct 91

[Text] The fifth round of Foreign secretary-level talks between India and Pakistan was held in Islamabad today. The Pakistani delegation was headed by Foreign Secretary Shaharyar M. Khan while the Indian side was led by Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey. The two foreign secretaries held two sittings and had a detailed exchange of views on Pakistan-India relations.

Earlier, in the morning, the Indian foreign secretary called on Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Mohammad Siddique Kanjoo. This afternoon, he called on the Secretary General for foreign Affairs, M. Akram Zaki. They discussed matters of mutual interest during these meetings.

IMF Chief Meets Sharif, Assures Support for Reforms

BK2910035491 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] Michael Camdessus expressed appreciation of the government's bold initiative in bringing basic changes to the structure of the national economy, which has laid a solid foundation for international assistance and interest in the economy. In Islamabad yesterday, he was apprising Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of his talks with the Pakistani officials on the comprehensive economic reforms initiated by the present government. The IMF chief assured him that the Fund would continue its support for the Pakistani government's efforts to stabilize economic development and overcome the drawbacks in the economy.

Thanking Camdessus for IMF's cooperation to Pakistan, the prime minister said his government would accelerate the pace of implementation of the (?far-sighted) reforms in the national economy.